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BINONGAN ITNEG SENTENCES

by

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ABBREVIATIONS

Add A	Addition Sentence
affir	affirmation
Alt S	Alternative Sentence
alt ph	alternative phrase
Anti S	Antithetical Sentence
Cau M	Clause Margin
Cau W	Cause Word
CM ₁	Condition Margin ₁
CM ₂	Condition Margin ₂
Cl _{dep}	Dependent Clause
Cl _{ex}	Existential Clause
Cl _{ind}	Independent Clause
Cl _{st}	Stative Clause
Cl part	Clause level particle
Cir-R S	Circumstance-Result Sentence
Conc S	Concessive Sentence
Coor Lk	Coordinate Link
Coor S	Coordinate Sentence
Corr S	Correlative Sentence
Dir Q S	Direct Quote Sentence
D.Q. Formula	Direct Quote Formula
D.Q. Emphasis	Direct Quote Emphasis
Dem pr	Demonstrative pronoun
echo que	echo question
emp	emphasis
Eq Q S	Equational Quote Sentence
exc	exclusive
Exc S	Exclusive Sentence
Eval S	Evaluation Sentence

f_t	Topic focus
frus	frustration
hesit	hesitation
inc	inclusive
I.Q. Formula	Indirect Quote Formula
I.Q. Signal	Indirect Quote Signal
Indir Q S	Indirect Quote Sentence
I. Que Formula	Indirect Question Formula
I. Que Signal	Indirect Question Signal
Indir Que S	Indirect Question Sentence
Inv S I	Inversion Sentence I
Inv S II	Inversion Sentence II
Lk	linkage between Bases
Merg S	Merged Sentence
M I S	Mistaken Impression Sentence
N	Sentence Nucleus
Pa S	Parallel Sentence
Para S	Paraphrase Sentence
part	particle
ph _n	noun phrase
ph _v	verb phrase
ph _t	time phrase
pl	plural
pr	pronoun
pred	predicate
pred sp	predication of speech
pred th	predication of thought
Proc S	Procedural Sentence
Pur W	Purpose Word
RAS ₁	Relator-Axis Sentence of Time
RAS ₂	Relator-Axis Sentence of Condition ₁
RAS ₃	Relator-Axis Sentence of Condition ₂
RAS ₄	Relator-Axis Sentence of Concession
RAS ₅	Relator-Axis Sentence of Result
RAS ₆	Relator-Axis Sentence of Cause
RAS ₇	Relator-Axis Sentence of Purpose
RAS ₈	Relator-Axis Sentence of Hortatory
rep	reportative, 'they say'
Res S	Result Sentence
S	Sentence
SS	Simple Sentence

Seq Lk	Sequence Link
Seq S	Sequence Sentence
ST	Sentence Topic
STM	Sentence Topic Margin
sub	subject
supp	supposition
tf	topic focus particle
tw	time word
TM	Time Margin
Supp S	Supposition Sentence
Warn S	Warning Sentence
#	phonological pause between Sentence Bases
∅	no medial morphological or phonological link between Sentence Bases

BINONGAN ITNEG SENTENCES

0. INTRODUCTION

In Itneg,¹ as in many other languages, clauses combine to form sentences in three ways: (a) the combining of two or more independent or nuclear elements, (b) the combining of two dependent or subordinate elements, and (c) the combining of one or more peripheral or subordinate elements with a nucleus (Longacre 1968:II:128, 1970:783). Of the twenty-five types of independent sentence identified in Itneg to date, one has a simple nucleus, nine have nuclei composed of two or more independent elements, ten have nuclei composed of one independent element plus one dependent element, and five have nuclei composed of two mutually dependent elements. All of these sentences may be expanded by the optional addition of an outer periphery and/or an inner periphery.² In addition there is one type of dependent sentence (with eight subtypes). It is a relator-axis sentence (RAS) and occurs both as a dependent element in some of the sentence nuclei and also as an inner periphery.

The sentence types other than simple and Relator-Axis sentences are displayed by abbreviated tagmemic formulas in Table I (see overleaf).

0.1. SENTENCE TYPES AS A SYSTEM

In an earlier analysis (quoted in Longacre 1968:II:204) fifteen types of Itneg sentences were presented in a 3x5 matrix. In that matrix the three rows of sentence types were characterized as loose, tight, and balanced. A sentence was classified in these terms on the basis of: the relative degree of union or cohesion between its bases, the kind of union or conjunction between its bases, and the lexical inter-dependence of the bases. The five columns of sentence types in this earlier matrix were characterized as concatenation, contingent,

TABLE 1: BINONGAN ITNEG SENTENCE TYPES

CONCATENATION SET	AMPLIFICATION SET	OPPOSITION SET
Coordinate S $S_t + \begin{Bmatrix} ket \\ ken \end{Bmatrix} S$	Paraphrase S $S \# S$	Antithetical S $S + \begin{Bmatrix} ngem \\ nem \\ anem \end{Bmatrix} S$
Merged S $S \pm nga S$	Parallel S $S \# S \# S$	Alternative S $S + wemno S$
Sequence S $S + si \pm ket S$	Addition S $RAS_2 \emptyset Cl_{ex}$	Inversion S $+bekena S + anem S$ $S no di ket S$
Procedural S $RAS_1 + si + ket S$	Correlative S $S + olay S$	Circumstance Result S $S \# Cl_{ex}$

FRUSTRATION SET	IMPLICATION SET	QUOTATION SET
Mistaken Impression S $+ipagalop ko +no S$	Result S $RAS_5 \emptyset \begin{Bmatrix} RAS_6 \\ RAS_2 \\ RAS_3 \end{Bmatrix}$	Direct Quote S $pred sp \# S \emptyset emp$
Exclusive S $S \emptyset RAS_3$	Qualification S $ST \emptyset RAS_6$	Equational Quote S $f_t pred sp \emptyset S$
Supposition S $+sapay + \begin{Bmatrix} no \\ ta \end{Bmatrix}$	Warning S $RAS_8 \emptyset \begin{Bmatrix} RAS_5 \\ RAS_2 \\ RAS_3 \end{Bmatrix}$	Indirect Quote S $\begin{Bmatrix} pred sp \\ pred th \end{Bmatrix} + nga S$
Concessive S $RAS_4 \emptyset \begin{Bmatrix} RAS_2 \\ RAS_6 \end{Bmatrix}$	Evaluation S $Cl_{dep} + \begin{Bmatrix} no \\ ngem \end{Bmatrix} Cl_{dep}$	Indirect Question S $\begin{Bmatrix} pred que \\ pred th \end{Bmatrix} + no S$

opposition, implication, and quotation. Again, a variety of criteria were used to classify the sentence types in these terms: same or different subjects within the bases, same or different verbal predicates within the bases, negated or antonymic or synonymic clauses in the bases, and tense restrictions and correlations.

In more recent research an additional eleven sentence types were identified and this discovery re-opened the question of where each of these fits into an overall system of sentence types. Previously it had been possible to classify sentence types as loose, tight, or balanced even though the criteria had to be used with a rather different weighting in each column of the matrix. But now there seemed to be as many values of this parameter as there were sentence types, and it was very difficult to find any system of pairs, triplets, or quadruplets. Eventually the search was abandoned, and although in Table I the sentence types are listed vertically in sets of four, within each set there is not necessarily any progression from loose to tight.

On the other hand, the criteria of inter-clause correlations used to establish the five columns of the old matrix continued to prove useful with the expanded inventory of sentence types. In fact the only changes were to dissolve the column labeled 'contingent' (and shift its contents to the concatenation and opposition columns), and to establish two new columns labeled 'amplification' and 'explanation'.

In searching for a system to show the structural similarities and differences of the twenty-four sentence types, many other criteria were investigated in the hope of finding a three dimensional matrix such as those found for Bontoc and Balangao (Longacre 1968:II:207-211). However, not even a satisfactory two dimensional matrix could be discovered, and a classification into six separate sets as presented in Table I is all that seems possible at this time. Although it is suspicious that each set contains four items, matching of these (as in horizontal rows in Table I) does not seem to have any structural significance.

0.2. DEEP STRUCTURE OF SENTENCES

If a linguistic description of sentence types is to be truly generative, a structural description of strings of tagmemes and their fillers is inadequate. If one wishes to use such a description as a guide in how to talk with people or how to understand what people say, then it is essential to take adequate account of the various meanings that can be conveyed by the surface structure of each sentence type. But the meaning of the structure of a given sentence, as distinct from the meaning of the clauses within that sentence, is not always easy to

pinpoint. To help ascertain these meanings more exactly for each illustrative sentence cited in this paper (as well as for many other sentences in the data), native speakers of Itneg were asked to supply all of the paraphrases they could think of -- sentences which they regarded as having the same meaning as the original one.

With the help of these paraphrases, the semantic relationships between clauses were identified in terms of the deep structures postulated for Inibaloi, a related language of Northern Luzon (Ballard *et al.* 1971a:III-4; 1971b:48-51). It was found that for some of the sentence types all of the examples had the same deep structure. Such sentence types encode just one deep structure each. But many of the sentence types exhibit considerable variety among their examples, and this may be used to encode any one of several deep structures. Conversely, although some of the deep structures may each be encoded as only a single surface structure, many of the deep structures may each be encoded as any one of several surface structures. (Wise 1971:253).

In both analyzing and describing Itneg sentence types, considerable difficulty was experienced in distinguishing between surface phenomena and deep phenomena. At times the line between these seems fuzzy, or even non-existent.

1. OUTER PERIPHERY

Outer Periphery consists of:

± Excl	± Voc	± Affir	± Hesit	± Atten
ay inangay <i>oh my</i>	proper name	wen <i>yes</i>	a <i>uh</i>	oy <i>hey</i>
ay apo <i>oh lord</i>	kinship term		ket a <i>and uh</i>	
alla <i>aha</i>				
Rule: ³ (1) Stylistically, it is seldom that more than two outer periphery items occur on one sentence.				

Within the clause there are modal morphemes which affect the mood of the clause. These items appear with high frequency in sentences and in some, such as the Correlative Sentence, they occur often enough to raise the question as to the effect these modal morphemes have on the sentence. These items most commonly occur

postposed to the predicate of the clause. Outer Periphery exponents may be interjected at any point in a sentence, even between sentence conjunctions. The class of modal morphemes of clause differs in membership from the exponents of Outer Periphery, but because of their frequent occurrence they are displayed here:

Emp	Supp	Rep	Frus	Ver	Echo Que
man	kay	kano	koma	attoo	a
again	please	they say	perhaps	la	eh?
met				gayyam	
also				truly	
pay					
still, yet					

1.1. EXAMPLES OF OUTER PERIPHERY

Exclamation voices surprise, shock, or displeasure.

AY ABAY APO, kakaasi kami.⁴
oh my lord pitiful we/exc.
OH MY LORD, we are pitiful.

Lomtaw kandi pagbekaan nid asawa na nga lalaki,
arrived at excavating/place of spouse her which male,

AY APO, bagis met sit masengana.
oh lord intestines also the see/her

When she arrived at the place where her husband was excavating,
OH LORD, intestines is what she saw.

Vocative focuses attention upon the person being addressed.

BELSI, iyalim kay sit lapis kon.
Belsi return/you please the pencil mine
BELSI, please return my pencil.

Sengam kadi, PIIT, no awad payyan ta pagey kanta alang.
see/you now Piit if there still the rice in/the granary.
PIIT, see if there is still rice in the granary.

Affirmative gives credence either to what is going to be said or to a previous statement.

"WEN, bantayan yo sit dadan." kon na kano.
yes guard you the trail said he they say
"YES, you guard the trail," he said.

WEN, angem naoy-oyong ka pay.
yes but more/bad you also
YES, but you're worse.

Hesitation refers to a previous statement or provides a pause for change of speaker or for continuation of a statement by the same speaker.

A, nagbalin kami nowang.
uh become/past we/exc carabao
UH, we became like carabao.

Kaysan dat tao. A, kaysan da kagidam.
went those people uh went they yesterday
Those people went, UH, they went yesterday.

Attention gives commands impetus or directs the listener's attention to what is going to be said.

HEY, Bali, omali ka dito.
hey Bali come you here
HEY Bali you come here!

OY, san yan dat anak no, Belsini?
hey where those children yours Belsini
HEY, Belsini, where are your children?

2. INNER PERIPHERY

Nine syntagmemes are posited as exponents of inner periphery of sentence. These are called margins. The inner periphery exponents can occur with any sentence type. As margins to the sentence nuclei inner periphery exponents expand the meaning of a sentence and provide linkage between the sentences of a paragraph. In Itneg exponents of Sentence Margin tagmemes in inner periphery also function elsewhere as bases of sentences.

2.1. EXPONENTS OF INNER PERIPHERY

The Inner Periphery Margins with their exponents are shown in relation to the Nucleus in the following array:

± SENTENCE TOPIC	±TIME	± CONDITION ₁	± CONDITION ₂	+N	± RESULT	± CONCESSIVE	± CAUSE	± PURPOSE	± HORTATORY
ph _n	tw ph _t RAS ₁	RAS ₂	RAS ₃		RAS ₅	RAS ₄	RAS ₆	RAS ₇	RAS ₈

Rules:

- (1) Although Margins embed in one another and conjoin with each other, not more than three have been observed to occur either preposed or postposed to the Sentence Nucleus.
In Cause Margin preposed to Sentence Nucleus, read *gapo ta* as the relator of the RAS₆.
- (2) Result Margin and Cause Margin do not co-occur in preposed position.
- (3) Only Time Margin whose exponent is RAS₁ with relator *no* can occur postposed to sentence nucleus. When time words occur following the sentence nucleus they fill time slot on the clause level.

Note that the order of display only partially describes the actual ordering. Margins are permutable to either preposed or postposed position in relation to the Nucleus. When margins embed or are compounded any combination can occur except those listed in (2) above. In text material Purpose, Cause, and Hortatory Margins most commonly occur in postposed position.

2.2. RELATOR-AXIS SENTENCE

Exponents of Inner Periphery Margins are mostly Relator-Axis structures. Eight of these are Relator-Axis Sentences:

RELATOR	AXIS
subordinating particle	Merged S Paraphrase S Coordinate S Antithetical S Sequence S Simple S

Often the axis is a Simple Sentence which in effect is a clause. However other sentence types do occur as exponents of axis. It is probable that other sentences than those listed could be posited as exponents of RAS axis but the six sentence types indicated in the bidimensional array are the only ones noted in text.

Two relator-axis sentences may form an independent structure which manifests a unique sentence type.

The relators and their relationships are charted in Table II.
(Longacre 1968:54)

TABLE 11: RELATORS AND RELATOR-AXIS SENTENCES

	CHRONOLOGICAL	IMPLICATIONAL	TELEOLOGICAL	SETTING
ACTUAL	RAS ₁ Time in which R: sid then no when intono until ingana until/extent sakbay before kalpasan after	RAS ₂ Condition in which R: no if	RAS ₆ Cause in which R: ta tay gapo ta atay ata tayya because	RAS ₅ Result in which R: siya nga that is the reason why gapo ta the reason why
HYPO- THETICAL	RAS ₈ Hortatory in which R: di la ket ta lest	RAS ₃ Negative Condition in which R: no adi if not	RAS ₇ Purpose in which R: sannon san ta sannon so that in order that	RAS ₄ Concession in which R: olay even

2.3. SENTENCE TOPIC MARGIN

Sentence Topic Margin is a non-predicate tagmeme of the sentence which is emphasized by being preposed or postposed to the sentence nucleus. It is expounded by a noun phrase or pronoun. There is pronominal cross reference with the Sentence Topic Margin in the sentence nucleus. While the Sentence Topic Margin most often occurs preposed to the sentence nucleus, informant reaction does not consider a postposed Sentence Topic Margin as an 'afterthought' on the part of the speaker or ungrammatical. Sentence Topic Margin frequently occurs in the initial sentence of a paragraph where its function is to state the theme of the paragraph.

Ket DATA NGA TAO DAT LALAKI, magloblobwat da
and those which people those men go/out they
kano inmanganop.
rep go/hunt

AND THOSE MEN, they go out to hunt.

Napan da manganop, DA SOTO KAN NI PEDRO.
went they to/hunt they Soto and p Pedro
They went to hunt, SOTO AND PEDRO.

SIT OLO NIT BABOY, siya kan sit idawis da kanta bakes.
the head of wild pig that rep the portioned they to/the woman
 THE HEAD OF THE WILD PIG, that is what they gave to the woman
 as her portion.

SI LAKAY NO, omonayen?
the old man your becoming/well/he
 YOUR HUSBAND, is he becoming well?

Another type of sentence topic only occurs as a dependent structure which is Base₁ of Qualificational Sentence. It is expounded by a noun phrase without pronominal cross reference in Base₂.

2.4. TIME MARGIN

Time setting in the sentence is indicated in the following ways:
 (a) by time words such as *sidin then*, *itan now*, which relate the time to the preceding sentence; (b) by time phrases such as *no Lonesen when Monday*, *sid nakakanen having eaten*; (c) by a Relator-Axis Sentence, whose relator is *no when*, *intono until*, *ingana until/extent*, *sakbay before*, *kalpasan after*.

Time words are always preposed to the nucleus and some, such as *sidin*, frequently are used to give time linkage at the onset of a new paragraph. Time Margins expounded by Relator-Axis Sentences typically link sentences within a paragraph. In the Procedural Sentence Relator-Axis Sentence₁ is the exponent of the first base.

In Itneg, Time Margin plus Nucleus encodes Overlap or Succession or Extent in time (Ballard *et al.* 1971b:26-27)

Succession:

SID NAKAKANEN, nasigabanen.
then eaten became/sick/he
 HAVING EATEN, he became sick.

SIDIN, mapan da manganop.
then go they hunt
 THEN, they will go hunting.

NO DOMATENG DA MANEN, ibagam ta olayenak kadayda.
when arrive they again tell/you that wait/I for/them
 WHEN THEY COME AGAIN, you tell them that I'll wait for them.

KALPASAN MADAWSAN SIT IGAT, iwaem siket isolad.
after clean the eel cut/you then/and cook/it
 AFTER YOU CLEAN THE EEL, cut it up and then cook it.

Overlap:

KANDI AWI AWAD dat tao wa magbaal.
in/the old/time there those people which loincloth
 IN THE OLD DAYS, there were people who wore loincloths.

Ket NO IROGIM KADATONEN NGA TIEMPO nga anak ka payyan
and when begin/you in/this which time which child you still
 INTONO MAGPAMILYA ken tattawim to meten nga samaen sit mabalin
until have/family and know/you too also which do the maybe
 no wa samaen nga pagbalowan ta pamilyam.
you the do which improve the family/you.
 And WHEN YOU BEGIN DURING THIS TIME, you are still a child, UNTIL
 YOU HAVE A FAMILY, and you will know also what things to do which
 will help your family.

INTONO OG-OGMA TA SABADO omali kayo ket magpaltiyak.
until morning of Saturday come you and butcher/I
 ON SATURDAY MORNING, you come and I will butcher.

NO DOMGES mag-esekak ta mais.
when raining dibble/stick/I the corn
 WHEN IT IS RAINING, I will plant corn.

Extent:

Alla, mangan kayo INGANA TA ADI MAAMIN.
oh eat you until the not consumed
 Come now, you eat UNTIL IT IS CONSUMED.

ISALDENG no sit mangbaot kanta nga aso SAKBAYA MASOGATAN.
stop you the beating of/the which dog before wounded/he
 Stop beating the dog BEFORE YOU WOUND HIM.

No dikayo sit nangirogi, lepasen yo ngalod INGANA TA MALPAS.
if you/all the began plant you really until the finished
 If you began, you plant the rice seedlings UNTIL THE JOB IS FINISHED.

Sannon INTONO MATADAG KAYO NGA MAGTAO, awad ta pag-olidanan
so/that until grow you to adults there the good/copy
 yo tay datowe nga ibagbagak dikayo kosto wa napasamak
you because that which tell/I to/you good the happened
 kanta BIYAG KO.
in/the life mine
 In order that AS YOU GROW UP INTO ADULTHOOD, there will be a
 good example for you to follow because that which I tell to you
 is exactly what happened in my life.

Ingana as relator indicates extent in time. Occasionally it also
 indicates extent of location as in the example ...ingana di Segeb,
 until, or as far as, Segeb.

2.5. CONDITION MARGIN₁

Condition Margin₁ implies an opposite or altered situation than is posited in the sentence nucleus to which it is adjoined. RAS₂ is the exponent of the Condition Margin₁. Several sentence types, Reason Sentence, Warning Sentence, and Concessive Sentence contain RAS₂ as one base. The relator of RAS₂ is *no if*. It is difficult to know when to translate *no* as *if* as opposed to *when* because many times in text either meaning is acceptable. *No if* frequently occurs with existential predications including negative existential predication. *No when* often occurs with time words. RAS₂ can occur preposed or postposed to the nucleus. Condition Margin₁ plus Nucleus encodes contrafactuality (Ballard *et al.* 1971b:31) or hypotheticality.

Naid ta ragsak nit pamilya NO NAID TO ONLOS.
none the happy the family if none the unity
A family has no happiness IF THERE IS NO UNITY.

NO NAID TA SOYOD YO mag-amma kay ngalod san awad
if none the leveler you make supp really so/that there
 ta pagsoyod yo.
the leveler you/pl
IF YOU HAVE NO LEVELER, make one so that there is something
for you to level with.

Sid adi da maawit dad tao NO ENGASAN DA NGA
when not they able/carry those people if not/able they which
 BAGTINEN ipapilit da nga ipaawit.
lift/up forced they to carry
When those people were not able to carry, IF THEY REACHED THE
LIMIT OF WHAT THEY COULD LIFT UP, they forced them to carry.

NO PODNO WA NATAY kikiten tayo ket NO MAKIKIT adi natay.
if really which dead tickle we/inc and if tickled not dead
Let's tickle him to see IF HE IS REALLY DEAD and IF HE WIGGLES,
he's not dead.

NO AWAD TA TONOS KAYO WA MAGSOSONOD, pag-olidanannakay
if there the unity you which siblings, example/you
 ta tao.
the people
IF YOU BROTHERS AND SISTERS ARE UNITED, you will be an example
to people.

2.6. CONDITION MARGIN₂

RAS₃ is the exponent of the Condition Margin₂. Its relator is *no adi if not*. When CM₂ occurs as one base of the Exclusive Sentence the condition word *no if* and the negative word *adi not* function as a

bound unit. It cannot be substituted with *no naid ta if not* and the restriction is due to the negative construction in the first base of the Exclusive Sentence. Condition Margin₂ plus Nucleus encodes negative hypotheticality or exception (last three examples).

NO ADI KA MAKAPAN ita nga wakas, mapan ka no wakas.
if not you able/go this p day go you when day
 IF YOU CANNOT GO TODAY, go tomorrow.

Ited yon ket kowa da sita di la ket ta masapol da sit
give you and belong they that lest want they the
 alikamen da NO ADI NAPLAS SIT SAMSAMAEK.
things they if not done the do/I
 You give it, it is theirs lest they have need of their things
 IF I'M NOT FINISHED WHAT I AM DOING.

Ket manipod ita naid ta sabali ya laglagipem NO ADI SIT
and beginning now not the other to think/you if not the
 NAPINTASA KABABALIN TA MAIKAMANG.
pretty way the join/unite
 Beginning now there is nothing else for you to think about
 IF NOT THE GOOD WAY TO UNITE.

Naid to ta payan na NO ADI KA MASIGOD KADATOWE
none fut. the use it if not you plan/think ahead this/here
 NGA TIEMPO.
which time
 It will be of no use, IF YOU DON'T PLAN NOW.

Naid ta ama mi NO ADI DIKA.
none the father our/exc if not you
 We have no father IF NOT YOU.

2.7. CONCESSIVE MARGIN

The exponent of Concessive Margin is Relator-Axis Sentence₄. *Olay even* is the relator of RAS₄. *Olay* occurs often also in compound relators, but does not merge into the semantic identity of the other relator. For example, *ta because* when compounded with *no if* merges with *no* to the extent that much of the semantic identity of *ta* is lost. However, when *olay* is compounded with *no if* the semantic identity of both parts of the compound are retained so that *olay no* means *even if*. *Olay* is also the medial link in the Correlative Sentence.

RAS₄ expounds base₁ of the Concessive Sentence. The Concessive Margin plus Nucleus encodes the deep structure category of expectancy reversal.

Naiden ta pagsilbiyana dikayon OLAY MAKAGMET KAYO KOTKOTEN
no/more the way/of/serving to/you even able/get you scratch

yon tonen naligat ta panangemet yon.
you this hard the getting you

*It is no longer a help to you, EVEN IF YOU CAN GET IT, you'll
 have to scratch out a living with your hands and it will be
 hard for you to get.*

Salonowenak OLAY INAK MAGBAYO.
follow/me even go/I pound/rice

Follow me EVEN THOUGH I'M GOING TO POUND RICE.

Sannon malamanam sit nagbannogam, adika panpanawan OLAY
so/that taste/you the tired/you not/you leave even

TAY DANDANI MAOTO SIT NIPAONA DAN.
cause about/to/be cooked the first they

*In order for you to be able to taste the fruit of your labor
 don't leave SINCE WHAT THEY'VE DONE FIRST IS ABOUT TO BE COOKED.*

No nibagayo koma sit iyaali yo dito nakasaganangak koma
if told frus the arrival you here prepared/I frus

OLAY NAID TA ITED NO tay ingkam ngameng magpasyal dito.
even none the give your because come/we/exc only go/around here

*If you had told us the time of your arrival here I would have
 been able to prepare, ALTHOUGH YOU HAVE NOTHING TO GIVE because
 we come visiting around.*

2.8. RESULT MARGIN

Relator-Axis Sentence₅ is the exponent of Result Margin of inner periphery. Gapo ta *the reason why, since* and siya nga *that's why* are the two possible exponents of the relator of RAS₅. Gapo ta has dual membership, it is also one of the exponents of the relator of RAS₆. The word gapo in isolation means *source, origin*. In the Result Sentence, whose bases are dependent structures, RAS₅ and RAS₆ respectively, RAS₆ with gapo ta is the only exponent of Result Base that can permute with Reason Base. Result Margin occurs next to the nucleus, either postposed or preposed, and often is the only margin in that position. On the other hand, Cause Margin often appears in the margin strings. An RAS₅ with siya nga as relator exponent only occurs postposed to the nucleus. Result Margin plus Nucleus encodes efficient cause. (Ballard *et al.* 1971b:35).

Iyagawa da SIYA NGA NAID TA TAO NGA MAGPASİYAL.
forbid they that's why none the people which strolling/around
They forbid it, THAT'S WHY THERE ARE NO PEOPLE STROLLING AROUND.

Adi ibilin nit akinkowa GAPO TA NARIGAT MET NGA MAPAN KAMI.
not tell the owner that's why hard also which go we/exc
The owner didn't tell us to THAT'S WHY IT IS HARD FOR US TO GO.

Adi kay yaan mapmapan TA SIYA NGA MAPAN TAYO.
not you yet go that's why go we/inc
Don't go yet, THAT'S WHY WE'LL ALL GO.

2.9. CAUSE MARGIN

The Cause Margin is expounded by RAS₆ whose relator is *ta*, *tay*, *ata*, *tayya*, or *gapo ta because*. When RAS₆ occurs preposed to sentence nucleus the relator must be expounded by *gapo ta* or else the Cause Margin must occur following another sentence margin. RAS₆ expounds one base of the Reason Sentence, Qualification Sentence, and Concessive Sentence. The Cause Margin plus the sentence Nucleus encodes the deep category of efficient cause.

GAPO TA MAGKODKODAW LATTA SI DAGGA, naamin ni kaagen
because ask like the turtle consumed the monkey
sidin na balat.
those which bananas

BECAUSE THE TURTLE KEPT ASKING LIKE THAT, the monkey ate up
all the bananas.

GAPO TA TINONGPAL KO DADI YA BAGBAGA NGA NANAAG KO,
since obey I those the advice which heard I
nabalo sit biyag ko.
good the life I

SINCE I OBEYED THE ADVICE WHICH I HEARD, my life has been good.

Pinag-asawa da dayda TAYYA PIYAENNA NGA MAG-ASAWA DA.
cause/to/marry they them because wanted/he which marry they
They had them get married BECAUSE HE WANTED THEM TO MARRY.

Masapa kami nga bomangon TAY PITO KAMI KET ADO
early we which arise because seven we/exc and much
SIT MAWANGEL.
the to/do

We'll rise early BECAUSE THERE ARE SEVEN OF US AND WE HAVE
MUCH TO DO.

GAPO TA SOMKEN SIT PANAGKOLKOLAAW DIYAKEN, malagip
because come upon the fearful feeling to/me remembered
ko di iyan mi.
I the place our/exc

BECAUSE THE FEARFUL FEELING CAME UPON ME, I remembered our place.

Adi da kan met makaolay ATA MAKAAAMES DA KANO
not they rep also able/wait because afraid they rep

MET KANTA ALAN.
also of/the spirit

They weren't able to wait BECAUSE THEY TOO FEARED THE SPIRIT.

Omali da manakdo TA AWAD TA TINODAY NA NGA
come they get/water because there the tapped he which

ITOK KA WAIL SI KET NADAWES SA DANOM.
small a strean then and clean the water

*They come to get water BECAUSE THERE IS A SMALL STREAM THAT
 HE TAPPED AND THEN THE WATER IS CLEAN.*

2.10. PURPOSE MARGIN

The Purpose Margin, expounded by Relator-Axis Sentence₇, most often appears postposed to the sentence nucleus but may permute to prenuclear position. RAS₇ does not occur as a sentence base however. Purpose Margin frequently occurs in margin strings. The relator of RAS₇ is expounded by *ta sannon so that*, *sannon so that*, or *san so that*. A homophonous morpheme *san* also occurs in a question meaning *what*. The Purpose Margin plus Nucleus encodes final cause or purpose.

SANNON DAGDAGOS SIT LAANI magpapiknik kayo.
so/that fast the harvesting/you have a picnic you
SO THAT THE HARVESTING IS QUICKLY COMPLETED, provide yourselves a picnic.

Inkayo TA SANNON PAKANANAKAYO.
go/you so/that feed/he/you
You go SO THAT YOU MAY BE FED.

"Nalalaing nga pat-ilan yo sit olok SAN DAGDAGOSAK MATAY."
good/good the tap you the head/I so/that fast/I die
kon na kano.
said he rep

*"It would be very good if you would tap me on the head SO THAT
 I WOULD BE QUICK TO DIE." he said.*

Binilin kan met ni dagga sl agama nga ipiten na sita obet
told rep also the turtle the crab to pinch he the bottom
 ni potitit SANNON MIBOSAYANG SIT DANOM SAN MAANOD
the water/creature so/that flow/out the water so/that drown

DAT KAAG.
those monkeys

*The turtle told the crab to pinch the bottom of the water creature
 SO THAT THE WATER WOULD FLOW OUT, SO THAT THE MONKEYS WOULD DROWN.*

TA SANNON DAGOS SA MAPOOLAN SIT OMA YO magtitinnolong
so that fast a burn the field your reciprocally/help
kayo wa lesan.
you which all

SO THAT YOUR FIELD WILL BE BURNED OFF FAST, you all help each other.

2.11. HORTATORY MARGIN

The relator of Relator-Axis Sentence_g, the exponent of the Hortatory Margin, is a compound structure with idiomatic meaning *di la ket ta lest*. The Hortatory Margin usually occurs postposed to the nucleus but may permute to preposed position. The Hortatory Margin gives a warning as additional information to the nucleus. RAS_g occurs as a base in the Warning Sentence, normally base₁ but it may permute.

No adi kay payyen lomtaw ita innakay koma tontonen DI LA KET TA
if not you yet arrive now go/I/you frus find lest

AWAD TA NANGLOKO DIKAY KANTA DADAN.
there the act/bad to/you on/the trail

If you haven't yet arrived I'll come out to find you, LEST
SOMEONE HARMS YOU ON THE TRAIL.

DI LA KET TA ADI DA MAKADATENG ITA ibon-an tay
lest not they able/arrive now set/aside/food we

tay adayo sit napananda.
because far the walking/they

LEST THEY ARE NOT ABLE TO ARRIVE NOW, we will set aside
food for them because they went far away.

Olay no adi payyan nalpas sit samsamaek ited yon ket
even if not yet finished the make/I give you and

kowada sita DI LA KET TA MASAPOL DA SIT ALIKAMEN DA.
property/their that lest need they the belongings they

Even if what I am making is not yet finished, you give it, it's
theirs, LEST THEY NEED WHAT BELONGS TO THEM.

No og-ogma lngkay ipaoli dat tinkaw yo wa kowa
when morning go/you return those borrowed you which belong

dan DI LA KET TA MASAPOL DA.
they lest need they

In the morning you go and return the things you borrowed that
belong to them LEST THEY NEED THEM.

Bay-an yo ipapilit DI LA KET TA LOMAYOG.
stop you forcing lest jump down

Don't you force him LEST HE JUMP.

3. SENTENCE NUCLEUS

The Sentence Nucleus in Itneg is an independent structure which can optionally have Inner and Outer Periphery added to it. It may be manifested by one independent clause, more than one independent clause

joined by specific linking morphemes or phonological pause, a combination of dependent and independent structures with special added features, or two dependent Relator-Axis Sentences. There are a few sentences in Itneg which minimally consist of only one dependent structure, but which retain their specific meaning even when the optional independent exponent of the second base is deleted.

3.1. SENTENCE SETS

Twenty-four of the Itneg sentences divide into six sets, the members of which share in common a collection of features which distinguish them from the members of all other sets. By dividing the sentences into sets we are not implying that each set has no common feature with any sentence of another set. As shown by Ballard *et al.*, more than one sentence may have the same deep structure, and several deep structures may be encoded by the same sentence (Ballard *et al.* 1971b: 46-47). Grammatical elements in the surface grammar to some extent expose deep structure and each of the six sentence sets has within itself common surface grammar features. The parameters of each set are somewhat different from those of other sets.

Each of the five basic paragraph types of Binongan Itneg may conceivably have every sentence type among the exponents of its bases. However, there is a correlation between paragraph types and sentence sets with regard to the sentences which commonly occur within a particular paragraph type, as shown in Table III.

TABLE III: THE DISTRIBUTION OF SENTENCE SETS WITHIN PARAGRAPH TYPES.

DIALOGUE	NARRATIVE	PROCEDURE	EXPLANATORY	HORTATORY
Quotation	Concatenation	Concatenation	Concatenation	Opposition
	Quotation		Amplification	Implication
			Opposition	Frustration
			Implication	

3.2. SIMPLE SENTENCE

The simple sentence of Itneg is composed of one base with or without peripheral items. The clause exponent of Nucleus may delete items such as topic if these are understood from the preceding sentence. The predicate encodes a punctiliar action if verbal. Alternatively it may be existential.

Dakdakkal sit maipaay na tay nabaknang.
 N: *big/big the give he* cauM: *because rich/he*
He gives more because he is rich.

Nagpokawen.
lost/he
He is lost.

Awad ta anak da.
there the child theirs
They had a child.

No palbangon napan si Soto kadat anak na.
 TM: *when dawn* N: *went si Soto and children his*
When it was dawn Soto and his children went.

Iso natayen
 TM: *then* N: *died/he*
Then he died.

4. CONCATENATION SET

The sentences of the Concatenation Set are displayed in Table IV.

TABLE IV: CONCATENATION SET

	same/different subject	same subject
	Coordinate Sentence	Merged Sentence
$\pm 1k$	ket $P \wedge Q^6$	nga ⁵ $Pa \wedge [Pa \supset pQa]$
	Sequence Sentence	Procedural Sentence
$+ 1k$	si + ket $P \wedge Q$	si ket $Pa \wedge Qa$

The four sentences of the Concatenation Set encode Coupling and/or Cause. The focal feature is the event rather than actor or goal and each Base is manifested by a different predicate or temporal alteration of predicate. There is either obligatory or optional medial linkage and three of the four feature temporal succession. The Coordinate Sentence optionally features temporal relations.

4.1. COORDINATE SENTENCE

+ Item ₁	+ Coor Lk	+ Item ₂	± (± coor Lk	+ Item ₃)
Cl _{ind} SS Cl _{ex}	ket ken	Cl _{ind} Cl _{ex}	ket ken	Cl _{ind} SS Cl _{ex}
Coupling P Λ Q Λ R Simultaneity Pa Λ Qb Sequence P Λ Q Efficient Cause Pa Λ [Pa D Qa] Contrast Pa Λ P''b				
Rules: (1) In a multiple base Coordinate Sentence one coordinate link is obligatory. It can occur between any two Bases. (3) When deep structure is Sequence, Bases are non permutable.				

The Coordinate Sentence often involves either chronological sequence or simultaneity of action. Efficient Cause also is often encoded in the Coordinate Sentence. No Simultaneous Sentence is posited for Itneg. Coordinate Sentence encoding simultaneity of action is the only manifestation of simultaneity. The Coordinate Sentence is a versatile structure.

The translation of the possible permutations and transformations of the following example, which, according to informants, do not change the meaning encode efficient cause.

Ab-ababbaw sit langit KET nasinag a sit lobong.
low the sky and sunny uh the world

The dome of the heavens was low AND the world was sunny.

Rea S: *The dome of the sky was low that's why the world was sunny.*

N + CauM: *The world was sunny because the dome of the sky was low.*

Encoding Efficient Cause, $\bar{P}ab \ \Lambda \ [\bar{P}ab \ D \ Qab]$:

Naid met ta nanaag tayo kandi nga tapos KET pagamwan
none also the heard we when the end/month and surprised
tayo awad dan.
we there they

We didn't hear (from them) when it was the end of the month AND we were surprised that they were there.

Encoding Simultaneity, $P \wedge Q \wedge R$:

Maglaani si Paywan KET magmes-ak si Kanayan di wangwang
harvesting tf Paywan and washing/clothes tf Kanayan at river
 KET si Domay mag-eden dat inittoka anak.
and tf Domay holding those little children
Paywan is harvesting, while Kanayan is washing clothes at the
river AND while Domay is taking care of the little children.

Encoding Sequence, $Pa \wedge Qa \wedge Ra$:

Kakaasi kan dat iyabas KEN inda kan sinlong sita
pitiful rep those Abas/people and went/they rep raided the
 Ismael KET pinsel da sita Ismael.
Ismael and killed they the Ismael
Those people of Abas were to be pitied AND they went, it is
reported, and raided Ismael AND they killed Ismael.

Encoding Coupling, $Pa \wedge Qb$ (Bases 1 and 2) and
 Contrast, $Pa \wedge P''b$ (Bases 2 and 3):

Sidi nalalabes ta makadomingo, napan da manen, naloomen sid
then passed the one/week went they again ripe the
 mowa ni dagga, KET natayen sid mowa ni kaag kandi
planted the turtle and died the planted the monkey on/the
 labaw nid bato.
top the rock
After one week had passed they went again, the turtle's crop
was ripe AND the crop which the monkey had planted on top of
the rock was dead.

4.2. MERGED SENTENCE

+ Action ₁	± Link	+ Action ₂	± Action ₃
Cl _{ind} with action pred	nga	Cl _{ind} with pr as sub	Cl _{ind} with pr as sub
Final Cause: $Pa \wedge [Pa \supset pQa]$			
Rules: (3) Actions are not permutable (4) Subject is deleted in final Action			

Clauses having the same subject are linked together in the Merged Sentence. The actions represented by the Action tagmemes occur close together in time and causal sequence. The motion verbs of Action₁ are

members of the intransitive set, *to walk, to come, to embark*. The final Action represents the purpose of the other actions. The *nga* is an optional link. Most often it is absent in the Merged Sentence and is replaced by phonological cause. Because the *nga* is elsewhere the subordinating linkage, the Merged Sentence could conceivably be reanalyzed as a verb phrase. However, location phrases may occur following Action₁ and prior to Action₂. This is not possible in a verb phrase.

Naglobwat dan, nanan dan, nangayaw di Mainit.
started they went they raided at Mainit
They started out, they went to raid Mainit.

The only possible transformation of a Merged Sentence encodes succession as shown in the following English translation:

Seq S: *They started out and then they went and raided Mainit.*

Encoding Final Cause, Pa A [Pa D pQa]:

Mapan da di Tomeng-ey inggana di Lowaben, inmangoway.
went they to Tomeng-ey as/far/as to Lowaben go/gather/rattan
They went to Tomeng-ey, even as far as Lowaben, gathering rattan.

Ket nammaayanan napan, magtonton.
and occupation/his went to/find
His occupation was to go, find.

Ket apay aya nga naid si kalalakiyanen, nagidamen adi ya
and why why a not tf old/man evening not p
 omali YA inmanganen.
come lk come/eat
Why oh why isn't the old man here, it's evening and he's not yet arrived here, to come eat.

Adi met makaadayo WA manglisi kadat kabosol na nga saponen.
not yet able/far lk get/away from/those enemies his which Japanese
He was not able to go far away to get out of the way of his enemies, the Japanese.

4.3. SEQUENCE SENTENCE (See next page).

+ Base ₁	+ (Seq Lk	± Coor Lk	+ Base) ⁿ
Cl _{ind} SS Merg S Coor S	si	ket	Cl _{ind} SS Merg S Coor S
Succession: P Λ Q ... Λ N			
Rule: (2) Bases are not permutable			

The Sequence Sentence has two or more Bases linked by a sequence marker which attracts the pronoun to itself, in which case a member of the clitic pronoun series occurs, regardless of the focus of the following clause. If no pronoun is involved the sequence link is phonologically joined with the coordinate link, if present. There is agreement between the verb tenses in the bases, or else past tense in Base₁ may be followed by non-past tenses, indicating successive action. In the Sequence Sentence, as opposed to the Procedural Sentence, the emphasis is on time sequence more than action interplay. The predicates are different, the subjects may be the same or different.

Nikowa na kanta losob ta bowa SINA kano niikowa
 put he on/the sheath the betel/nut then/he rep put
 kandi labaw nid ogpon da.
 on/the top the pile theirs
 He put it in the sheath of the betel nut tree AND THEN HE
 put it on the top of their pile.

The following translations represent transforms of a Sequence Sentence that are possible without change of meaning according to informants:

TM + SS: *After he put the covering on the betel nut he put it on the top of their pile.*

Proc S: *He put the covering on the betel nut first and then he put it on the top of their pile.*

TM + SS: *Before he put it on the top of their pile he put the covering on the betel nut.*

Encoding Succession: P Λ Q ... Λ N

Isenglag tayo ket yaan sit baginas ta SITAY
 roast we/inc and yet the millet ours then/we/inc
 manan nobigat.
 go tomorrow
 We'll roast rice and even our millet THEN WE'LL go tomorrow.

Mag-olnong kayon ta taldek kada amln nga masapsapol ta
 gather you the posts and all which want for
 bobay SIKA ngomina ta slim SIKA patooden.
 house then/you buy the roofing then/you build
 You gather the posts and all that you want for a house,
 THEN YOU, buy the roofing, THEN YOU begin to build.

"Magkosyep kayo wa manmanan no mipado sit saka yon SIKAY
 close/eyes you lk go when stub the foot your then/you
 KET mag-ata," kon kan nit anak da.
 and make/eye, said rep the child their
 "You close your eyes while walking until you stub your foot
 AND THEN YOU open your eyes," said their child.

Ginabolan dan SIKET nagkakaysan dad anak.
 covered they then/and went those children
 They covered it AND THEN the children went.

4.4. PROCEDURAL SENTENCE

+ Base ₁	+ Seq Lk	+ Coor Lk	+ Base ₂
RAS ₁ (Time) R: <Intono>	si	ket	Cl _{ind} SS Alt S
Succession: Pa A Qa			
Rule: (2) Bases cannot permute.			

The Procedural Sentence encodes temporal succession between the actions of two Bases, one of which is a dependent structure, Relator-Axis Sentence₁. The tenses of both Bases are non-past. The Procedural Sentence has the same subject in both bases but different predicates that are never marked for subject focus. The linkage is the same as for the Sequence Sentence, except that here ket is obligatory. While the emphasis is on temporal succession there is an added implication that the first must be performed or the second action is void, wasted.

Intono malpas da matatakan SIDA KET magpak-ol
after finished they cleaning/dikes then/they and harrow
After they have cleaned the dikes THEN THEY harrow.

Transformations of Procedural Sentence which do not change the meaning are as follows:

SS + TM: *They will harrow after they have cleaned the dikes.*

CauM + SS: *Because they have finished cleaning the dikes, they can harrow.*

TM + SS: *When they have finished cleaning the dikes, they harrow.*

Encoding Succession: Pa A Qa

Kalpasana bilaem SIKA KET igadem.
after divide then/you and grate/you/it
After you divide it THEN YOU grate it.

Intono kalpasana matono SIKA KET isolad.
after finished/it roasting then/you and stew/it
After it is finished roasting THEN YOU stew it.

Intono maikowam kanta palyok SIKA KET itopak.
after put/you/it on/the frying/pan then/you and set it on the fire.
After you put it in the frying pan THEN YOU place it on the fire box.

No awad ta dowa nga bolan wenno talo wa bolan SIKA
when there the two which months or three which months then/you
 KET tabokolen wenno salpen ta intem dat lames da.
and net/it or drain/off to get/you those fish from/it
When it is there for two or three months THEN YOU either net it or drain off the water from it so that you can get the fish from it. (Alternative Sentence with Purpose Margin in Base₂).

5. AMPLIFICATION SET

The sentences of Amplification set are shown in Table V.

TABLE V: AMPLIFICATION SET.

same/related pred	same pred
Paraphrase Sentence	Parallel Sentence
# Pa A P'a	# P(a) A P(b) ... A P(n)
olay + pay lPab A Pac lPab A Pcb	Ø ∃Pa A ∃Pb ∃Pa A ∃Pa"

Paraphrase, Parallel, Correlative, and Addition Sentences all have amplification of some item in the first base by the second base. The Correlative and Addition Sentences have the added semantic component of comparison. Only the Correlative Sentence of this set has a medial link although the other three sentences have distinct phonological pause following each Base. The Amplification Set of sentences focus attention on the predicate by repeating it, substituting a synonym for it, or pairing two existential clauses with opposite-meaning predications.

5.1. PARAPHRASE SENTENCE

+ Base ₁	+ Base ₂	± Base ₃
Cl _{ind} SS Dir QS	Cl _{ind} SS Dir QS Pa S	Cl _{ind} SS
Identity-Equivalence: Pa \wedge Pa' or Pa \wedge P'a Statement-Specification: Pa \wedge Pab/Pax/Pba Generic-Specific: gPa \wedge sPa		
Rule: (3) Sentences encoding Statement-Specification cannot be permuted.		

There is close phonological juncture between the bases of the Paraphrase Sentence. The predicate of Base₁ is repeated, expanded, or paralleled by a synonym in the exponent of the subsequent bases. Quite often there is embedding of Parallel Sentence as exponent of Base₂ or Base₃ of a Paraphrase Sentence. Distinguishing features of these two sentences are that Paraphrase Sentence has the same subject in the bases, or Subject of Base₁ becoming Object, etc., of Base₂ and similar predicates in the bases whereas the Parallel Sentence has different subjects, or other parallel tagmemes, and the same predicates in the bases.

Encoding Identity-Equivalence, Pa \wedge Pa':

Ket pag-am-ammowan da kano dat iyal-allapang ta dinomges
and realized they rep those Al-allapang/people the raining
 ta nasaldet, deges kano komama ta ramay sit kadadakkel nit deges.
the hard rain rep like the finger the largeness the rain

The people of Al-allapang realized that it was raining very hard, rain, they say, that was the size of one's finger.

Permutation and transform possibility without change of meaning is as follows:

Coor S: *Rain, they say, the size of one's finger was coming down and (then) the people of Al-allapang realized that it was raining very hard.*

Encoding Statement-Specification, Pa A Pab/Pax/Pba:

"Diano ngayta aya nga parti ta lobong sitowe, adiyak where now what the part of world this not/I met tattawi sit pagpaoliyak," kon na kan manen. also know the place/of/returning said he rep again "Where is the world am I, I don't know the way to return home," he said once again.

Encoding Generic-Specific, gPa A sPa:

Managtag kano, binomtik kano. run/he rep broke/away/he rep He ran, he broke away.

"Dikam sit baknang itan, awad ta bobay min, ado pay we/exc the rich now there the house our/exc much too sit pagey mi," kon da kano. the rice our/exc said they rep "We're rich now, we have a house, we have much rice," they said.

Ilisa na kan dat balokag kada batotay da, dropped he rep those pot stands and pot holders theirs aklo kada pongan, owes kadat lopot, wooden/spoons and/those pillows blanket and those clothing amin kano naglas-od kanta babay nid bakes, inamin na kan all rep furnished from house the woman all he rep niilisa nit aso. removed the dog

He took their pot stands and pot holders outside, the wooden spoons and pillows, the blankets and clothes, all that furnished the lady's house, the dog took it all outside. (Parallel Sentence is Base₂ of Paraphrase Sentence).

5.2. PARALLEL SENTENCE (See next page).

+ Base ₁	+ Base ₂	+ Base _n
SS Cl _{ind} Dir QS	SS Cl _{ind} Dir QS Para S	SS Cl _{ind} Dir QS
Parallel Coupling: P(a) \wedge P(b) ... \wedge P(n)		
Rules: (3) Bases are permutable. (4) There is sometimes deletion of predicate in Bases after the first.		

The Parallel Sentence contains two or more Bases having the same predicate but different subject or some other tagmeme. The predicate of a Parallel Sentence is often existential.

Olay tay, ado sit pagey, ado pay sit belek, ado pay sit
even so much the rice many too the pigs many also the
baka na kada nowang, nalabon pay sid pangkakan da.
cows his and carabao magically/increase too the food their
Even so, there was much rice, there were also many pigs, he also
had many cows and carabao, there was a magical increase of their
food. (embedded within Paraphrase Sentence.)

Possible transform:

Coor S: *Their food increase seemed magical and there was much
rice, there were many pigs, there were many cows of
his, and there were also many carabao.*

Ado dat lanad dito, ado dat ganggang kada eges, ado
many those ants here many those roaches and worms many
pay dat kapkayyap.
too those flying/insects
There are many ants here, there are many roaches and worms,
there are also many flying insects.

"Wen a, napiya sit kankanek kantowe, pakpakanenak ta masaliket,
yes uh good the feed/I here feed/I the sticky/rice
pakpakanenak ta manok," kon kan ni dagga.
feed/I the chicken said rep the turtle

"Yes, uh, I eat well here, I am fed sticky rice, I am fed chicken,"
said the turtle. (Parallel Sentence in Base₂ of Paraphrase
Sentence within Quote of Direct Quotation Sentence.)

Kagora yo sit masama kanta bagi yo OLAY MET sit sabali,
hate you the done to body your even also the other
 kagora na met.
hate he also

You hate what is done to you, EVEN SO, the other person hates what is done to him also.

Nawaya sit makmak da Soto OLAY da Osi.
wide the field they Soto even they Osi
Soto's field is wide, EVEN SO Osi's (field is wide).

Maetdag sit nowang da Bagni OLAY PAY sit nowang mi
fell the carabao they Bagni even also the carabao our/exc
 istay maetdag.
almost fell

The carabao of Bagni's fell, EVEN SO, our carabao almost fell.

Nabaknang sidiye nga bakes OLAY PAY sid apo mi.
rich that/there the woman even also the grandparent our/exc
That woman is rich, EVEN SO, our grandparent (is rich too).

5.4. ADDITION SENTENCE

+ Statement ₁	+ Statement ₂
RAS ₂ (Condition) R: no	Cl _{ex}
Coupling: $\exists Pa \wedge \exists Pb$ $\exists \wedge \exists Pa$	
Rules: (1) Axis of RAS ₂ is an Existential Clause. (3) Bases are permutable.	

Statement₁ of the Addition Sentence is expounded by a conditional Relator-Axis Sentence₂ with *no if* as Relator and an existential clause in the Axis. The exponent of Statement₂ is also an existential clause. The predication of Statement₂ is a situational antonym of the former Statement. However, the emphasis is not on contrast, rather on the juxtaposition of two existing situations involving different subjects which amplify each other by expressing two facets of a situation. One of the addition particles *pay also*, *met also*, often occur in Statement₂.

No awad ta riribok, awad met ta mangtengel.
if there the disturbance there also the restraining/it
If there is a disturbance, there is also someone to restrain it.

Permutation and transform possibilities:

SS + CM₁: *There is someone restraining it if there is someone causing a disturbance.*

Proc S: *Until there is someone causing a disturbance then there is someone there to restrain it.*

Res S: *If there is someone causing a disturbance, that's why there is someone there to restrain it.*

Encoding Coupling, 3Pa A 3Pa"

No awad da ta nalaing awad met dad napoos.
if there they the good there also those slow
If there is someone who is a good (student), there is also the slow (student).

Encoding Coupling, 3Pa A 3Pb:

Ket no awad ta sossosik awad to ta pakaedaroman yo.
and if there the fighting there future the cause/for/indictment your
And if there is fighting there will be cause for your indictment.

No awad ta pagdidiprinsiyaan ta tomonggal issa dittayo
if there the disagreements the every one to/us
awad ta mapataoda panaggogora dittayo.
there the cause to begin hatred to/us
If there are disagreements between us, there is something to originate hatred among us.

No awad ta mangnaag kanta bagbagak dikayo awad koma met
if there the heed to/the advice/I to/you there frus also
ta magbalina natolpak tay adi padapada ta panonot ta tao.
the become deaf because not alike the thinking of people
If there are those of you who heed my advice, there are also those who seem as if they became deaf, because not all people think alike.

6. OPPOSITION SET

The sentences of the Opposition Set of Itneg sentences appear in Table VI. (See next page)

TABLE VI: OPPOSITION SET

Antithetical Sentence	Alternative Sentence
$+ \text{ngem}$ nem anem $(P \supset Q) \wedge P \wedge Q_{\beta}$ $Pa \wedge Pb$	$+ \text{wunno}$ $Pa \nmid P''a$ $Pab \nmid Pba$ $P \vee Q$ $Pa \wedge P'a$ $Pa \wedge P''a$
Circumstance-Result Sentence	Inversion Sentence
$\#$ $(Pab \supset \exists Qb) \wedge Pab \wedge \exists Q_{\beta}b$	$\pm \text{anem}$ $\bar{P}a \wedge P''a$
	$+ \text{no di ket}$ $\bar{P}a \wedge P''a$ $\bar{P}ab \wedge P'cb$

The Opposition Set of Sentences is characterized by the negation in one Base of something in the other Base, either by formal negative or by antonym. Expectancy Reversal is the common deep structure encoded by Antithetical and Circumstance-Result Sentences, though Antithetical also encodes contrast. The Alternative Sentence typically encodes a choice of alternatives, and often has a negative or antonym in one Base. Surprisingly, perhaps, it also encodes identity-equivalence and positive-negative paraphrase. The Inversion Sentence encodes negative-positive paraphrase, though its subtype with *no di ket* as link sometimes also encodes contrast.

6.1. ANTITHETICAL SENTENCE (See next page)

+ Thesis	+ Adversative	+ Antithesis
Cl _{ind} SS Coor S Dir Q S Indir Q S	ngem nem anem	Cl _{ind} SS Coor S Dir Q S Indir Q S
Expectancy Reversal (P \supset Q) \wedge P \wedge Q _{β}		
Contrast Pa \wedge \bar{P} b		
Rules: (3) Tense restricts permutability. Encodings of the deep structure expectancy reversal are not permutable. (4) If Thesis and Antithesis have the same subject it may be formally deleted from the filler of Antithesis.		

The Antithetical Sentence contains two semantically opposed bases, the Thesis and the Antithesis with an intervening adversative particle. Of the deep structures encoded in Antithetical Sentence some have tense changes from Thesis to Antithesis which prohibit permutation of the bases. Sentences encoding contrast contain an antonym or negated synonym as predicate in Antithesis and have a different subject. The Antithetical Sentences which encode expectancy reversal have base exponents with subject or some other tagmemes the same, and with predicates which are different, one of which is negated.

Ket omanayen sitan nga mangpataod ta biyag da, NGEM sl
and sufficient that which maintain of life they but tf
Lali adi na tinongpai sidiye nga mandar ni Kabonyan.
Lali not he obey that which order of God
And it was sufficient (God's order) to keep their life going,
BUT Lali did not obey the order of God.

Permutation and Transform possibilities:

- Anti S: *Lali did not obey the order of God but it was sufficient to keep their life going.* (with permutation of the bases)
- Coor S: *Lali did not obey the order of God and it was sufficient to keep their life going.*

Encoding Expectancy Reversal, $(P \supset Q) \wedge P \wedge Q_p$:

Ket sita nga bakes baknang NGEM bokod.
and that which woman rich but stingy

That woman is rich BUT she is stingy.

Naid ta adi samaen ANEM adi met napontaan.
nothing the not done but not also strike/it

There was nothing that had not been done BUT they did not strike (upon the remedy for the sickness).

Nanaag ko NEM adiyak nasengan.
heard I but not/I see

I heard him BUT I couldn't see him.

Encoding Contrast, $P_a \wedge \bar{P}_b$:

Adi da kan ited kanta bakes, NGEM sit aso na nangibitin
not they rep give to/the woman but the dog her hung

da ta dawis kanta liyeg na.
they the string on/the neck it

They did not give any of the meat to the woman, BUT they hung the string of meat on her dog's neck.

Ket ado met dat mamati nga sommalono kansiya, NGEM ado
And many also those obey which follow Him but many

payyan nga tao wa adi mamati kansiya.
yet which people that not obey Him

There are many who also believe and follow Him, BUT there are yet many people which do not believe in Him.

6.2. CIRCUMSTANCE-RESULT SENTENCE

+ Action	+ Result
Cl _{ind} with transitive verbs SS	Cl _{ind}
Expectancy Reversal $(Pab \supset \exists Qb) \wedge Pab \wedge \exists Q_p b$	
Rule: (3) Bases are not permutable.	

In the Circumstance-Result Sentence the result is a frustration, not what was expected. There is sequence of time between the Action and the Result; however, the core meaning of the sentence is not sequence or eventuation. The Result focuses on something implicitly sought in Action. The verbs in Action are verbs of motion or perception. Although there is no medial link between the Action and Result there is a phonological pause. The clause in Result is existential.

Inasengan dadlye nga tao, naid dan.
went/see/he those which people not they
He went to see those people, they weren't there.

Transform possibilities:

Anti S: *He went to see but those people weren't there.*

Coor S: *He went to see those people if they were there and they weren't.*

SS + TM: *Those people weren't there when he went to see them.*
Those people weren't there whom he thought were there when he went to see them.

Seepena kandi daya, naid da.
smell/he to/the upstream not they
He smelled upstream, they weren't there.

Manolbok kan manen a, awad sid magbayo wa madateng
went/upstream rep again uh there the pounding which met
na nga manenglag.
she which roasting/rice
She went upstream again, there was one she met who was pounding and roasting rice. (She didn't expect to meet anyone).

Sidi mawakas, lomtaw si Dipdipala, naid kano metten ta
then day arrive tf Dipdipala none rep also the
bomangonen kandi in-oma na.
raised/up in/the kaingan his
When it was day Dipdipala arrived, there was nothing left of what he had cleared because the trees had stood erect again in his kaingan.

Napan kandi wangwang, naid kano si Ayo ket magyan kano
went to/the river not rep tf Ayo and remained rep
dat banga nga inkiwasana.
those pots which went/she/wash
She went to the river, Ayo was not there and there remained behind the pots she had gone to wash.

6.3. ALTERNATIVE SENTENCE

+ Statement	+ Piv Lk	+ Alternative
Cl _{ind} SS	wenno	Cl _{ind} SS
Alteration $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} Pa \quad \S \quad P''a \\ Pab \quad \S \quad Pba \\ P \quad V \quad Q \end{array} \right.$		
Identity-Equivalence Paraphrase		$Pa \quad \Lambda \quad P'a$
Positive-Negative Paraphrase		$Pa \quad \Lambda \quad \bar{P}''a$
Rules: (3) Permutable if tagmemes not deleted. (4) If the predicate or subject or goal is the same as in Statement then it is deleted from Alternative.		

The Itneg Alternative Sentence is a two base structure joined by a pivotal link *wenno* or. Its primary deep structure is alternation, but it may also encode identity-equivalence or positive-negative paraphrase.

The pivotal link *wenno* also functions on the phrase level as linkage between nouns in a noun phrase and between verbs in a verb phrase:

No omali dat IKalinga di Baay ngomina da ta nowang WENNO
if come the Kalinga to Baay buy they the carabao or
 aso, WENNO belek.
dog or pig

If those Kalinga people come to Baay they buy a carabao OR a dog OR a pig. (pivotal linkage in a noun phrase)

Adi kay aya madamag WENNO makaseng kadat tao nga
not supp why informed or able/to/see those people which
 naisiw sit sama da.
evil the do they

Have you not been informed OR able to see those people who do evil things? (pivotal linkage in verb phrase)

The Alternative Sentence normally encodes alternation,

$Pab \quad \S \quad Pba, Pa \quad \S \quad P''a, Eab \quad V \quad Ecb:$

Abaken na dat anak tayo WENNO ditay sit inmangpatay?
defeat she those children our/inc or to/we/inc the go/kill
Will she defeat our children or shall we go kill her?

Piit, mapan ka di Patok WENNO mabati ka dito?
Piit go you to Patok or remain you here
Piit, are you going to Patok OR are you staying here.

Kowak sit apiit na olay apiit na ngameng WENNO kowak sit
mine the aroma it even aroma it only or mine the
issa nga saka na.
one which leg it
The aroma of it is mine, even the aroma only, OR one of its
legs will be mine.

Encoding of identity-equivalence paraphrase ($\text{Pa} \wedge \text{P}'a$) or positive-negative paraphrase ($\text{Pa} \wedge \bar{\text{P}}'a$) is rare, but does occur in the Itneg Alternative Sentence:

Ket sidiye nga dosa om-ona nga kapanana WENNO omawat.
and that which fine first to go/to/him or receives/it/he
And that punishment first goes to him, RATHER (OR) he receives it.

Gomorgora da met kadayda gapowen ta pagaropen da nga
hate they also them because the think they which
sidiye nga pannakaoyaw da ket nadakes to ta masakbayan
that the ridiculed they and evil too the come/it
WENNO adi danto makagon-od kadat kalayad da nga gon-oden.
or not they able/attain that want they to attain
They'll hate them because they think they're being ridiculed
and evil will come of it OR they won't be able to attain what
they want to attain.

The following example encodes Warning, ($\bar{\text{Pab}} \text{ D Qb}$) \wedge Pab :

Nalemeng ngaytan diyaken WENNO maedasanak ket a kadat soldadonen.
hide now me or found/I and uh those soldiers
Hide me now OR will I be found by those soldiers!

6.4. INVERSION SENTENCE

6.4.1. Inversion Sentence, Subtype I

+ Negative Base	± Adversative Lk	+ Positive Base
Cl_{st}	anem	Cl_{ind} SS
Positive-Negative Paraphrase $\bar{\text{Pa}} \wedge \text{P}'a$		
Rules: (1) The Adversative Link is a weak link, seldom occurring between the bases; when Bases permute and when Adversative Lk is present the Lk occurs Sentence initial. (3) Bases may permute.		

The first subtype of Inversion Sentence contains two opposed Bases. One base is negative, the other positive. The exponent of Negative Base in this Inversion Sentence is a stative clause which has the negative word *beken* *it is not* clause initial. The Inversion Sentence encodes a negative-positive paraphrase. Often there is deletion from the Positive Base of tagmemes which are not the contrastive feature of the sentence.

Bekena nalagsaken ANEM nalidayen.
not/be/he happy rather sad

He isn't happy, rather, he is sad.

Possible permutations and transformations:

Inv. S. II: *Rather he is sad, not happy.*

Coor S: *He is sad and he is unhappy.*

Anti S: *He's not happy but he is sad.*

SS + Res M: *He's sad, that's why he is not happy.*

SS + Cau M: *He is not happy because he is sad.*

SS + C M₁: *He is not happy if he is sad.*

Res S: *The reason why he isn't happy is because
he is sad.*

Bekena tao no wakas, oweg
not/be/he person when day snake
He isn't a person during the daytime, he is a snake.

Bekena nangitit, polaw.
not/be/it black white
It isn't black, it's white.

Bekena asog sit kanen da, katila ngameng
not/be rice the food they camote only
They do not have rice to eat, they only have sweet potatoes.

"Bekena dollas nas-ep ko baboy," kon kan nit Alan.
not/be/it grasshopper smell I wild/pig said rep the Alan
*"It is not a large grasshopper (that I smell), I smell
wild pig," said the Alan Spirit.*

Anem tali sit nasengana beken met ta oweg.
but rope the see/by/he not also a snake
But a rope was what he saw, not a snake.

6.4.2. Inversion Sentence, Subtype II

+ Negative Base	+ Adversative Lk	+ Positive Base
Cl _{ind} Exc S SS	no di ket	Cl _{ind} SS
Negative-positive paraphrase $\bar{P}ab \wedge P^a$ Contrast $\bar{P}ab \wedge P^{cb}$		
Rule: (3) Negative and Positive Bases may permute, and no di ket moves with the Positive Base to initial position.		

No di ket *but rather* is an idiomatic conjunction phrase. It expounds the Adversative Link of the sentence. Inversion Sentence Subtype II encodes negative-positive paraphrase or, more rarely, contrast. Encoding negative-positive paraphrase, $\bar{P}^a \wedge Pa$:

No adi gapo kan gayyem na adi naisalakan NO DI KET naiyaw-awan.
if not from the friend his not saved but/rather lost
If not for his friend he would not have been saved BUT RATHER
he'd have been lost.

NO DI KET iyal-alisto yo sit magwangel adi napoosen sannon
but/rather speed/up you the work not slow so/that
 ado sit kalapwan tayo ta maggidam.
much the come/from us/inc the day
BUT RATHER speed up in your work, don't be slow so that there
will be much produced by us when evening comes.

Adina niamma NO DI KET niwalas na.
not/he put/away but/rather gave/out he
He didn't store it BUT RATHER he distributed it.

Adiyak pinondal datowe nga ibagbagak dikayo NO DI KET
not/I make/up that/here which tell/I to/you but/rather
 gapo kadat padas ko.
from that try I
I didn't make up what I am telling you BUT RATHER it comes
from my experience.

Encoding Contrast, $\bar{P}ab \wedge P'cb$:

Olay sidiye nga immet yo dikami adiyak ibatbati
even that which get you for/us not/I leave

NO DI KET inten yo payyen no magpaoli kayo.
but/rather get you yet when return you

*Even so, that which you get from us, I won't leave it
 behind BUT RATHER you get it when you return.*

7. FRUSTRATION SET

The Frustration Set of Sentences are shown in Table VII.

TABLE VII: FRUSTRATION SET

Mistaken Impression Sentence	Exclusive Sentence
$+ \text{ no}$ $(Q_p) \wedge tP \wedge Q$	\emptyset $\bar{P}(U-a) \wedge P(a)$ $\bar{P}ab \wedge Pab''$ $\bar{P}ab \wedge Pac$
Supposition Sentence	Concessive Sentence
$+ \text{ no}$ ta $(Q_p) \wedge iP \wedge Q$	\emptyset $(P \supset Q) \wedge P \wedge Q$ $(P \supset Q) \wedge (R \supset \bar{Q}) \wedge P \wedge R$

In every sentence of the Frustration Set an opposition is at least implied. An explicit negation can be supplied in a third base in both Mistaken Impression and Supposition Sentences, though usually it is not supplied. Opposition is obligatorily explicit however in the negation of the first Base of the Exclusive Sentence, and a particular positive exception is made to it in the second Base. The Concessive Sentence encodes expectancy reversal and conflicting premises. Expectancy reversal is encoded by Antithetical and Circumstance-Result Sentences of the Opposition Set also, but there the negative element is usually the unexpected in Base₂, while the Concessive Sentence usually has a positive element as the unexpected in the second Base. Each member of the Frustration Set has a dependent structure as the exponent of at least one of its Bases.

7.1. MISTAKEN IMPRESSION SENTENCE

+ Thought	+ Lk	+ Impression	± Opposite
ipagalop ko	no	SS	SS
Mistaken thought $(Q_{\beta}) \wedge tP \wedge Q$			
Rule: (3) Bases are not permutable.			

In the Mistaken Impression Sentence the opposite of what is stated in the second Base is understood without its being supplied. If the opposite of the Impression is made explicit, it occurs as a further optional base. The Mistaken Impression Sentence with the linker *no* *if, when*, in this sentence type meaning *that*, has two features which separate it from the Indirect Quote Sentence expressing thought with linker *nga* *that*. First, the Mistaken Impression Sentence of the Implication Set encodes always and only an opposite implication whether or not that opposite is made explicit. The *ipagalop ko* *wa...* never encodes an opposite implication and additional information is not implied. The Mistaken Impression Sentence linker *no* in this occurrence alone has the specific meaning: *that, but I am wrong*. Another difference is that the Thought tagmeme of Mistaken Impression Sentence of the Implication Set is expounded by the one verb, *ipagalop* *thought*, with a first person pronoun subject, *ko* *I*, while the Indirect Quote Formula of the Indirect Quote Sentence can have any one of a list of verbs with no restriction of subject person.

ipagalop ko *NO* *asin* *towe*, *asokal* *met* *gayyam* *sit* *ited* *na*.
thought *I* *that* *salt* *this* *sugar* *also* *really* *the* *gave* *her*
I *thought* *it* *was* *salt* *here*, *sugar* *was* *what* *she* *really* *gave* *me*.

Possible transform:

Anti S: *"This is salt", I thought but it was really sugar that she gave me.*

ipagalop ko *NO* *mabayag* *kay* *dito*.
thought *I* *that* *long/time* *you* *here*
I *thought* *that* *you* *would* *stay* *here* *a* *long* *time* *(but* *you're*
only *staying* *a* *short* *time*.

Ipagalop ko NO papel sid niwalsik.
 thought I that paper the throw/I

I thought that it was paper that I threw away (but it was money).

Ipagalop ko NO tape recorder sid magkankanta kanadi.
 thought I that tape recorder the singing just/now

*I thought it was the tape recorder that was playing music
 just now (it was you).*

Ipagalop ko NO klorox sit nasyon kanta botilya.
 thought I that clorox the remained in/the bottle

I thought it was clorox in the bottle (it was water).

7.2. SUPPOSITION SENTENCE

+ Implication	+ Lk	+ Fact	± Opposite
Sapay	no ta	Cl _{ind} SS	Cl _{ind} SS
Frustrated Optative (Q_β) \wedge 1P \wedge Q^8			
Rule: (3) Bases are not permutable.			

As with the Mistaken Impression Sentence, the Supposition Sentence closely resembles the sentences of the Quotation Set, except that the opposite of what is stated in the second Base is understood without it being supplied. If it is supplied, the opposite is made explicit in an optional third Base, Opposite.

Sapay *oh that* is the only exponent of the Implication tagmeme. We do not know what category this word belongs to. Sapay is used in prayer and supplication-request. The Fact tagmeme of the Supposition Sentence expresses a wish that is the opposite of what is true. When the linker *ta* occurs the result is still in doubt because the action is not yet completed.

Sapay NO adi siya sit na-isama kan siya.
oh/that if not that the done to him

Oh IF only that hadn't been done to him.

Transform possibilities:

Anti S: *Of if only that hadn't been done but he did it.*
 (Supp S embedded in Base₁)

Anti S + C M₂: *It would have been good if he had not been the one to do that but he was.*

Sapay NO lmainit sita nga babai.
oh IF from/Mainit that which girl
Oh IF only that girl had been from Mainit.

Sapay TA adi da itoltoloy sit naisiwa panggep da.
oh IF not they continue the bad plan theirs
Oh IF only they don't continue that bad plan of theirs.

Sapay NO adi naalas sit sama da.
oh if not look bad the made they
Oh IF they hadn't done such a poor job.

Sapay NO ado sit asok ko, ittey met sit awad.
oh if much the rice mine little also the there
Oh IF only I had a lot of rice, there is only a little.

7.3. EXCLUSIVE SENTENCE

+ Fact	+ Exception
Cl _{ind} negative SS _{with negative pred}	RAS ₃ (negative condition) R: no adi
Contrast	$\bar{P}ab \wedge Pab''$ $\bar{P}ab \wedge Pac$
Contrast with specific exception	$\bar{P}(U-a) \wedge P(a) \wedge (aEU)$
Rules: (3) Bases are permutable. (4) Predicate is often deleted in Exception.	

Often the Fact tagmeme of the Exclusive Sentence is expounded by a negative Simple Sentence with generalized meaning followed by a specific exception. The predicates are either the same, one being negated, or situational antonyms. When the predicate of the Exception is the same as the negated predicate of the Fact, the second predicate is deleted. The relator no adi of RAS₃ has here an idiomatic meaning which is translated *except, only for*. The incorporation of a conditional margin into the nucleus plus the common occurrence of a universal-specific predicate combination signal contrast.

Encoding Negative Positive Paraphrase, $\bar{P}ab \wedge Pab$:

Adi ibaga nit nikara ya pagamam sit pagdaksam NO ADI
not tell the worthy which father the bad/you if not
 sit paglaingam.
the good/you

The one worthy to be your father didn't tell what was bad
for you, ONLY FOR your good.

Permutation and transform possibilities:

Inv S: *The one worthy to be your father didn't tell what was*
bad for you but rather for your good.

Exc S: *Only for your good, the one worthy to be your father*
didn't tell what was bad for you. (with permutation of
Bases)

Encoding Contrast: $\bar{P}ab \wedge Pac$:

Adi kam pag-an-ano sit lakbam nga nalobloban ta pilak
not we/exc care the basket which piled the money
 NO ADI sita ngameng biyag no sit kalayad mi ya inten.
only the only life your the want we/exc which get
We don't care about your basket piled high with money, ONLY
your life, that's what we want to get.

Encoding Contrast with specific exception, $\bar{P}(U-a) \wedge P(a) \wedge (aEU)$

Naid ta inna komamakam, NO ADI si Dalipog di Madanta.
none the go/he frus catch except tf Dalipog at Madanta
There is no one to go catch up with him EXCEPT Dalipog at Madanta.

Adiyak koma mapan NO ADI dika.
not/I frus go except for/you
I shouldn't have gone EXCEPT for you.

Ket manipod ita naid ta sabali ya laglagipem NO ADI
and beginning now none the other which remember/you except
 sit napintasa kababalin ta maikamang.
the good way of joining/uniting
Beginning now there is nothing else you should remember
EXCEPT the good ways of uniting.

7.4. CONCESSIVE SENTENCE (See next page)

+ Concession	+ Condition
RAS_4 (Concessive) R: olay	RAS_2 (Condition) R: no RAS_6 (Cause) R: tay
Expectancy Reversal $(P \supset Q) \wedge P \wedge Q_\beta$ Conflicting Premises $(P \supset Q) \wedge (R \supset \bar{Q}) \wedge P \wedge R$	
Rule: (3) The Bases are permutable	

Two Relator-Axis Sentences join together to form an independent sentence, the Concessive Sentence. There are two variants of the Concessive Sentence. Type (a) contains two predicates, one of which is usually a negatively stated condition, the other a positive condition. This Concessive Sentence may have the same or different actors in the exponents of the Bases. Type (a) Concessive Sentence encodes expectancy reversal or conflicting premises.

Type (b) only encodes expectancy reversal where the unexpected is stated positively. Type (b) Concessive Sentence can transform to Type (a); it is therefore suggested that Type (b) is Type (a) with deletion of the Condition Base. There is one predicate and one subject, which is in focus, and one other optional non-predicate tagmeme in the Type (b) Concessive Sentence.

Type (a) encoding Conflicting Premises, $(P \supset Q) \wedge (R \supset \bar{Q}) \wedge P \wedge R$:

OLAY NO naid ta ama mi NO magyan ka dito.
even if none the father our/exc if remain you here
EVEN IF we have no father (it's O.K.) IF you stay here.

Permutation and transform possibilities of type (a) Concessive Sentence:

Conc S (a): If you stay here (it's O.K.) even though we have no father. (with permutation)

SS + CM_1 : We have no father and (that's all right) if you stay here.

OLAY ittok sit babay mi TAY adi tomodo.
even little the house our/exc because not leak
EVEN though our house is little (it's still good) BECAUSE it doesn't leak.

OLAY NO naid ta pagey NO awad ta mais.
even if none the rice if there the corn

EVEN though there is no rice (we won't starve) IF there is corn.

Type (a) encoding Expectancy Reversal, $(P \supset Q) \wedge P \wedge Q_{\beta}$:

OLAY NO dadakkel kayo wa tao, NO dogyot.
even if big you a people if weak

EVEN IF you are big people IF you're weak (your size means nothing).

OLAY NO napintas sidiye nga babai NO naisiw sit kababalin na.
even if pretty that a girl if bad the character her

EVEN IF that girl is pretty, IF her character is bad

(her prettiness doesn't matter).

Type (b) encoding expectancy reversal, $(P \supset Q) \wedge P \wedge Q_{\beta}$:

OLAY koma NO moting a sit ited yo wa kanen mi.
even frus if grits uh the give you which food our/exc

(It would be all right) EVEN IF you only give us grits as our food.

Permutation and transform possibilities of Type (b) Concessive Sentence:

Conc S (a): *What you give to us as our food (anything will do) even if it's grits.*

Conc S (b): *Even if there is nothing that you give us as our food but only grits (it's O.K.) (with permutation of the bases)*

OLAY yamengen NO ipaolim ket a sit biyag na.
only even if return/you and uh the life her

EVEN IF you only return life to her (it would be fine).

OLAY NO nabalo dat ap-apit yo dito.
even if good those planted you here

(It will be good) EVEN IF those that you planted here yield well.

8. IMPLICATION SET

The four sentences of the Itneg Implication Set are displayed in Table VIII. (See next page)

TABLE VIII: IMPLICATION SET

Result Sentence	Qualification Sentence
\emptyset $Pa \wedge [Pa \supset Qa]$	\emptyset $Pa \wedge [Pa \supset Qa]$ $Pa \wedge [Pa \supset pQa]$
Warning Sentence	Evaluation Sentence
\emptyset $(P \supset Q) \wedge P_{\beta} \wedge Q$	$+ \text{ no}$ ngem $vPa \wedge Qa$ $vPa \wedge P_{\beta}a$ $vPa \wedge Qba$ $(P \supset Q) \wedge P_{\beta} \wedge Q$

The Sentences of the Explanation Set all have dependent structures in both Bases, most of these being Relator-Axis Sentences. The Evaluation Sentence alone has a conjunctive particle as medial link. The Result Sentence encodes efficient cause but all the others encode some kind of exhortation coupled with an explicit value judgment about the consequence of the action. The Qualification Sentence encodes a positive exhortation built on the deep structure of efficient or final cause. The Warning Sentence encodes warning (a negative exhortation). The Evaluation Sentence usually has a deep structure similar to warning, except that a positive exhortation is given, and an undesirable opposite consequence is compared with the implied desirable consequence of the exhortation. The Evaluation Sentence with no linkage can also encode warning.

8.1. RESULT SENTENCE

+ Result	+ Reason
RAS ₅ (Result) R: <siya nga>	RAS ₆ (Cause) R: <tay> RAS ₂ (Condition) R: no RAS ₃ (Negative Condition) R: no adi
Efficient Cause Pa \wedge [Pa \supset Qa]	
Rule: (3) Reason and Result may permute but exponent of RAS ₆ relator when Sentence initial must be gapo ta.	

When Reason is expounded by RAS₆ completed action is understood. RAS₂ or RAS₃ as exponent of Reason indicates future action. The predicates in Reason and Result tagmeme exponents are different but there is a semantic relationship of cause and effect. Both bases have the same subject. The relators of RAS₅ are *siya nga that's why*, and *gapo ta the reason*: the relators of RAS₆ are *ta, tay, gapo ta, atay, ata or tayya because*; that of RAS₂ is *no if*, and that of RAS₃ *no adi if not*.

SIYA NGA managtag da TAY maames da.
that's why run they because afraid they
 THAT'S WHY they run BECAUSE they are afraid.

Permutation and transform possibilities:

Res S: *The reason they run is because they are afraid.*
Because they are afraid, that's why they run.

SS: *They run from fear.*

SIYA NGA nammet da ta baboy ATA napan da manganop.
that's why got they the wild/pig because went they to/hunt
 THE REASON WHY they got a wild pig IS BECAUSE they went hunting.

GAPO TA maglaani da di Segeb SIYA NGA awad da disadiye.
because harvest they at Segeb that's why there they there
 BECAUSE they are harvesting at Segeb THAT'S WHY they are
 way over there.

GAPO TA natliw da sita nga bokal, napan da kano
because caught they that which wild boar went they rep

SIYA NGA DOMATENG DA DI NALBUAN.
that's why arrived they to Nalbuan

BECAUSE they caught that wild boar they left, THAT'S WHY
 THEY ARRIVED IN NALBUAN.

SIYA NGA nagsolatak meten ATA kalayad ko ammowen no
that's why wrote/I again because want I know tf

naawat yo met laeng sit solat ko kan di Augusto wenno naid.
received you also only the letter mine in/the August or not

THE REASON I wrote again is BECAUSE I want to know if you
 received the letter I wrote to you in August or not.

GAPO TA pagyanan mi sita nga babay NO naid ta magyan.
the/reason dwelling we/exc that which house if none the dwell

THE REASON WHY we will occupy that house IS IF no one dwells there.

SIYA NGA magsangsangit sidiye nga anak NO ADI ka
that why cry that which child if not you

ipan di laod.
take to lowland

THE REASON that child is crying IS IF (i.e. he is afraid that)
 you WILL NOT BE THE ONE to take him to the lowland.

8.2. WARNING SENTENCE

+ Exhortation	+ Condition
RAS ₈ (Hortatory) R: di la ket ta	RAS ₅ (Result) R: <siya nga> RAS ₂ (Condition) R: no RAS ₃ (Negative Condition) R: no adi
Warning (P ⊃ Q) ∧ P _β ∧ Q	
Rule: (3) Bases are permutable.	

The Warning Sentence encodes the deep structure of warning. *Do it lest ... Don't do it lest ...* The desired action involves the opposite of what is expressed in each base in most Warning Sentences. One term of the predication is shared by both Exhortation and Condition and this is second person, the subject of Exhortation. RAS₆ (Cause) and

RAS₇ (Purpose) often occur as Margins to the Warning Sentence.

SIYA NGA baybay-am kanta paway sannon masengan da
that's why leave it/you in/the yard so/that see/you they

DI LA KET TA tontonen da.
lest find they

THAT'S WHY you SHOULD leave it there in the yard so they
 can see it LEST they go looking for it.

DI LA KET TA awad ta mapasamak dikay kanta dadan NO manan
lest there the happen to/you on/the trail if go

kayo tay ado wa naloko kanta dadan.
you because many which bad on/the trail

LEST something happen to you on the trail you go (now) BECAUSE
 there are many bad fellows on the trail.

DI LA KET TA madanagan dat nag-anak dikayo NO ADI
lest fear those parents of/you if not

kay payyan lomtaw ita nga wakas.
you yet arrive this which day

LEST your parents worry IF you DON'T arrive today (i.e. you
 HAD BETTER ARRIVE TODAY).

DI LA KET TA mapokaw kayo NO mapan kayo ita tay nagisbeten.
lest lost you if go you now because dark/already

LEST you'll be lost DON'T you go now because it is already dark.

DI LA KET TA maetdag ka NO komalab ka kanta.
lest fall you if climb you on/there

LEST you fall DON'T you climb there.

8.3. QUALIFICATION SENTENCE

+ Statement	+ Cause
ST	RAS ₆ (Cause) R: gapo ta
Efficient Cause	Pa \wedge [Pa \supset Qa] Pa \wedge [Pa \supset pQa]
Rule: (3) Bases may permute, in which case siya is added before ST.	

The Sentence Topic in the first base of the Qualification Sentence is a noun phrase with topic marking particle. The head of the phrase

is a nominalized clause with verb marked by pag- or pang-. The subject of the axis of the Relator-Axis Sentence₆ in the second base is also topic. The relator of RAS₆ in this environment is gapo ta *because* only. The subjects of the base exponents are the same, and the predicates are positive. For formal reasons, the Qualification Sentence could be regarded as a single equational predication, but its deep structure is Efficient of Final Cause and its meaning seems to be indirect (third person) positive exhortation. The Statement expresses a generic aim, and the Cause expresses the specific ways of attaining that aim.

Encoding Final Cause, Pa A [Pa D pQa]:

SIT pag-alistowan ta tao GAPO TA piyaena sit nabalowa
the way/get/ahead the person because like/he the good
 kasasaad ken nasakbayana kantowe nga lobong.
character and future/it here/this which world
 THE REASON a person tries to get ahead IS BECAUSE he desires
 a good character and future here in this world.

Encoding Efficient Cause, Pa A [Pa D Qa]:

GAPO TA naalas sit langa na ken bekena nabalo sit ogali
because bad/ugly the way/his and not/be good the custom
 na SIYA SIT pang-oy-oyawan ta tao kan siya.
his that the ridiculing the people of him
 IN THAT his appearance is ugly and his ways are bad
 THAT'S WHY he is ridiculed by people.

SIT pag-innapalan ta tao kan ni Ligi GAPO TA baknang
the thing/envied the people of p Ligi because rich
 ta sanikowa ken nagasata tao.
the possessions and fortunate person
 THE thing people envied about Ligi IS THAT he is rich
 and he is a fortunate person.

SIT pagaasawaan ta tao GAPO TA nabalo wa
the reason/for/marriage the people because good the
 kadawyan ken nabalo wa panagagawa.
manner/character and good the industrious
 THE reason for marrying a person IS BECAUSE of a good
 character and his good way industriousness.

SIT pagpipinnatayan ta tao GAPO TA kinaagom ken
the reason/reciprocally/kill the person because selfish and
 apa! da ta nabalo wa panagbiyag ta pada da nga tao.
jealous they the good the life the same they which people
 THE reason people kill each other IS BECAUSE of selfishness
 and jealousy of the good life of their fellowman.

8.4. EVALUATION SENTENCE

+ Base ₁	+ Link	+ Base ₂
Cl _{dep}	no ngem	Cl _{dep}
Comparison vPa \wedge Qa ⁷ vPa \wedge P _{β} a vPa \wedge Qba Warning (P \supset Q) \wedge P _{β} \wedge Q		
Rule: (3) Bases are not permutable.		

The Evaluation Sentence has a special Relator-Axis Sentence in Base₁ and the adversative link ngem or the conditional relator no between the bases. The relator of Base₁ is a word evoking comparison: *nabalbalo wa better*, or *on-onaya better*. The predicate in Base₁ may be either negative or positive, but the predicate in Base₂ is positive though undesirable. Because the topic marking particle *sit* is preposed to it, the exponent of Base₂ is a nominalized Clause without a topic tagmeme. The *sit* of Base₂ in the first example is the topic marking particle for rice which is implicit in both Bases.

Encoding Comparison, vPa \wedge Qa; vPa \wedge P _{β} a; vPa \wedge Qba:

ON-ONAYA laaniyen tayan NO sit aminen ta manok.
better harvest we/inc than the consume the chickens
 IT IS BETTER for us to harvest it (the rice) THAN to
 have the chickens eat it all.

NABALBALO wa bayowen tayo nga banbannogen NO sit
better to pound we/inc too tired than the
 ol-oloten dat tao wa kantan.
stripping those people which there
 IT IS BETTER for us to pound (the rice) until we're very
 tired THAN to strip (the rice) off the stalks (and therefore
 destroy it) like those people over there.

ON-ONAYA pogasen tayo wa lesanen NGEM sit
better pick/ears we/inc which all than the
 mayam-yamaana kantan.
destroyed there
 IT IS BETTER for us to harvest the corn, all of it, THAN
 for it (the corn) to be destroyed there.

ON-ONAYA adika magpadpadakes ta padam nga tao
better not/you sin/against the like/you which person

NGEM sit magpadpadakes ka ta padama tao tay no
than the sin/against you the like/you person because if
padpadakasem sit padama tao makabasol ka.
sin/against/you the like/you person make/sin you

IT IS BETTER that you do not wrong your fellowman THAN to
wrong your fellowman because you sin if you wrong your fellowman.

NABALBALO wa ited yo kadat malayad sit banga nan
better to give you to/those want the water/pots there

NGEM sit naamina mayam-an kantan.
than the all/be destroyed on/there

IT IS BETTER that you give water pots to those who want them
there THAN for them to all be destroyed on that.

Encoding Warning, (Pa D Qba) $\bar{P}a \wedge Qba$:

NABALBALO wa adika magpaoliyan NO kasta sit
better to not/you return if like/that the
panagpanpanonot da nga bekena nabalo.
thinking they which not/be good

IT IS BETTER that you don't return to them IF the thinking
of those people is bad like that.

9. QUOTATION SET

The sentences of the Quotation Set appear in Table XIV.

TABLE XIV: QUOTATION SET

	Direct Quote Sentence	Equational Quote Sentence
+ Speech	pred sp # S Ø emp wP \wedge Q	nominalized pred sp Ø S wP \wedge Q
	Indirect Quote Sentence	Indirect Question Sentence
± Speech	pred sp + nga S pred th wP \wedge Q aP \wedge Q	pred que + no S pred th wP \wedge Q aP \wedge Q

The Quotation Set of sentences encode speech or awareness. They all consist of a Quotation Formula followed by a Quote.

9.1. DIRECT QUOTE SENTENCE

± D.Q. Formula	+ Quote	± D.Q. Emphasis
Cl _{ind}	any sentence paragraph	kon (ko) (I) said
SS	discourse	kano It is said
Speech wP A G		
Rules: (1) Two D.Q. Emphasis tagmemes may occur, one pre-quote, one post-quote when there is no D.Q. Formula. (2) D.Q. Emphasis when co-occurring pre-quote with D.Q. Formula must be postponed to D.Q. Formula. (3) The D.Q. Formula and the Quote are permutable. (4) D.Q. Formula and D.Q. Emphasis may be deleted, (a) in an extended speech (more than one paragraph) by a single speaker; (b) in a dialogue after the speakers have been established.		

The Direct Quote Sentence purports to report the exact word of a speaker. The exponents of the Quote tagmeme are different from those of the Bases of other sentences of the Quotation Set in that the particular demonstrative pronouns, personal pronouns, and verb tenses used are those suited to their direct relation to the dramatis personae of the event being narrated.

The class of stems which occur in the Direct Quote Formula are verbs of speech such as *baga tell*, *bilin tell*, *balakad advise*, *command*, *damag tell news*, *ginga speak*, *salodsod ask*, *kodaw ask for*.

There is just one Direct Quote Emphasis verb stem, *kon said*, and this is invariant in form. It is followed only by a member of the clitic set of subject pronouns.

Sidi nibilin kan dat akin anak, "Mangan tayo",
 then told rep those their children eat we/inc
 kon da kano.
 said they rep

Then they told their children, "Let's eat", said they.

Permutation and transform possibilities:

Dir QS: *"Let's eat", they said to their children.
Then they told their children, "Let's eat," they said.
What they said was "Let's eat," that's what they said
to their children.*

Indir QS: *They told them to come eat.*

Eq QS: *This is what they said, "Let's eat".*

Encoding speech, wP Λ Q:

*"Magdigos kayo ta omonangak ta inakkayo iyasogan," Kon
bathe you because first/I to go/you cook/rice said
na kano nita babai ya lmainit.
she rep the girl which from Mainit
"You bathe, I'll precede you because I will go to cook the rice
for you all," said the girl from Mainit.*

*Sid nakadateng nga nangibaga kanon kanta Masadiit, kon na,
then arrived which tell rep to/the Masadiit said he*

*"Awad si Siddayaw nga dadi innangayaw..."
there tf Siddayaw which with/them went/go/raid*

*Then he arrived in Masadiit to tell, he said, "There is Siddayaw,
the one of those who went to raid."*

*"Ina!" kon kan nita anak.
mother said rep the child
"Mother!" the child said.*

*"Ay awan kanenak kadatowe ano ngayta aya ta pamosposak?"
oh no consumed/I by/those/here what how what the do/I
"Oh no! I'll be eaten up by those that are here, what in
the world can I do?"*

9.2. EQUATIONAL QUOTE SENTENCE

+ Eq Quote Formula	+ Quote
nominalized Quotation Formula	Cl _{ind} S
Speech wP Λ Q	
Rule: (3) Equational Quote Formula and Quote may permute if a demonstrative pro- noun precedes the Equational Quote Formula.	

The Equational Quote Sentence emphasizes the truth of Quote. The Equational Quote Formula differs from the Quote Formula in that the Equational Quote could be translated to read *That-which he said was...*, as opposed to *he told...* (Longacre 1968:II:178).

Note that the Equational Quote Formula does not contain the clause level modal particle *kano it is reported* which often appears in the Direct Quote Emphasis tagmeme. The verb class members of the Equational Quote Formula set is smaller than that of the Direct Quote Sentence Formula. The speech verbs of Equational Quote Formula are *ginga speak*, *kon say*, *ibaga tell*, *balakad advice, command*, *salodsod ask*.

The Equational Quote Sentence cannot be transformed to the Direct Quote Sentence containing both the Quote Formula and Quote Emphasis.

Towe sit ginga na, "Magyan kay dito ata malabi."
this the say he stay you here because become/night
This is what his words were, "You stay here because it is
getting late."

Permutation and transform possibilities:

Eq Q S: "You stay here because it is getting late," this is
what his words were.

Dir Q S: "You stay here because it is getting late," he said.
He said, "You stay here because it is getting late."

Sita kon da "Manggagamot sidiye nga babai."
the say they prisoner that which woman
They said, "The woman was a prisoner."

Sit salodsod ko "Mapanak mammet ta liblo?"
the ask I go/I get the book
What I asked was, "Shall I go get the book?"

Sit ibaga ni Belsini, "Mapanak tomolong kan Agmok."
the tell p Belsini go/I help to Agmok
This is what Belsini told, "I will go to help Agmok."

Sit konek, "Inakon magasog ata nabitil kami."
the say/I go/I cook/rice because hungry we/exc
What I said was, "I will go to cook the rice because
we're hungry."

9.3. INDIRECT QUOTE SENTENCE

+ I.Q. Formula	+ I.Q. Signal	+ Indir Quote
Cl _{ind} Merg S SS	nga	Cl S unrestricted tense
Speech	wP Λ Q	
Awareness	aP Λ Q	
Rule: (3) Bases are not permutable.		

The Indirect Quote Sentence reports the words or thoughts of the speaker with partial adaptation to the point of view of the reporter and hearer. Demonstrative pronouns, personal pronouns, and verb tenses are reported in terms of the one reporting and the hearer, not in terms of their immediate relation to the *dramatis personae*.

The verb stems which occur in the Indirect Quote Formula involve more than just speech. There is some overlap between the I.Q. Formula Set of verb stems and those of the D.Q. Formula, but the I.Q. Formula has a larger set of stems with a wider range of meaning: *bilin tell*, *baga tell*, *isolat write*, *panonot think*, *pagalop think*, *osig discern*, *naag hear*, *timod hear*, *lokyasan discover*, *dawaten request*.

The Mistaken Impression Sentence (of Implication Set, section 7.1.), which has the link *no* between the two bases, and may have a third base making explicit a negative implication, is not considered a subtype of Quotation Set, Indirect Quote or Indirect Question. However, *ipagalop* with *nga* as the linkage is included in the verb set of the Indirect Quote Formula. Here it expresses ordinary thought, without there being any opposing information implied in the Indirect Quote Sentence with *ipagalop ko wa I thought that...*

Nibagak nga awad sit bolon da kanta.
tell/I which there the companion they to/the
I told them their companion was there.

Transform possibilities:

Indir QS: *I told that their companion was there.*

Eq QS: *What I said was, "Your companion is there."*
 "Your companion is there," that's what I said.

Encoding Speech wP A Q:

Ket dawaten mi ngalod NGA sapay ta awad ta
and request we/exc really that if/only the there the
 panagmaymaysa mi ya lesan.
unity we/exc which all

And we request only THAT there be unity among us all.

Ipadamag ko pay dikayo WA nabileg sit deges dito.
tell I yet to/you that strong the rain here
I will also tell you THAT the rain here is strong.

Dommateng ta issa nga gidam di Tomalip inna ibaga
arrived the one which afternoon to Tomalip go/he tell

NGA pananenakami a lesana tao.
that go/away uh all people

*He arrived in Tomalip one afternoon to tell THAT all of us
 should go away.*

Dommateng kandi babay da ipadamag na kadat anak
arrive at/the house their tell she to/those children
 nan NGA nadoktalan na sit nagbalbalinan ni ama da
her that discovered she the changed/into the father their
 ta wakas nga oweg ga dakkal.
the day which snake that big

*She arrived at their house to inform her children THAT she
 had discovered that their father changed into a large snake
 in the day time.*

Encoding awareness aP A Q:

Ipagalop mi YA maglobwat tayo no Lonesen.
think we/exc that leave we/inc when Monday
We think THAT we will all leave on Monday.

Nagsolat da NGA natay sid bakes.
wrote they that died the woman
They wrote THAT the old woman had died.

Inda kano sengan tay ipagalop NGA awad ta napokaw
went/they rep see because thought that there the lost
 kadat bolon da.
those friends their
*They went to see because they thought THAT one of their
 friend's was lost.*

9.4. INDIRECT QUESTION SENTENCE

+ I.Que. Formula	+ I.Que. Signal	+ Indir Question
Cl _{ind} SS	no	Interrogative Cl/S
Speech aP Λ Q Awareness aP Λ Q		
Rule: (3) Bases are not permutable.		

The Indirect Question Sentence differs from the Indirect Quote Sentence in that it contains verbs of query in the Indirect Question Formula in addition to verbs of thought. Indirect Question Formula verbs include *damagen inquire*, *osigen hear a case*. The Indirect Question Signal is *no if-questioning*. The clause or sentence expounding Indirect Question is interrogative. Note again that the Mistaken Impression Sentence linker is also *no*. However no Indirect Question Sentence encodes mistaken thought as does the Mistaken Impression Sentence.

No awad ta masigaban ngalan yo ta damdamagen da NO
when there the sick name you the inquire they if
 ano ta domatngan yo.
when the arrive you

Whenever someone got sick they would inquire AS TO when you will arrive.

Inda osigen NO san nita naabak kandiye nga kondisyon.
come/they hear/a/case if who the lost of/that which agreement
They have come to decide ON who lost that agreement.

Sidi malabes kanta lima nga wakas pagdidinamagen dan
then passed of/the five which days inquired they
 sidinen nga imet nid tao NO san nag-emtana dad gosi
that which got the person if who got/from/he those jars
 kada panay kada gansa.
and pots and gongs

After more than five days they inquired about what the person had gotten, AS TO where he got those jars and pots and gongs from.

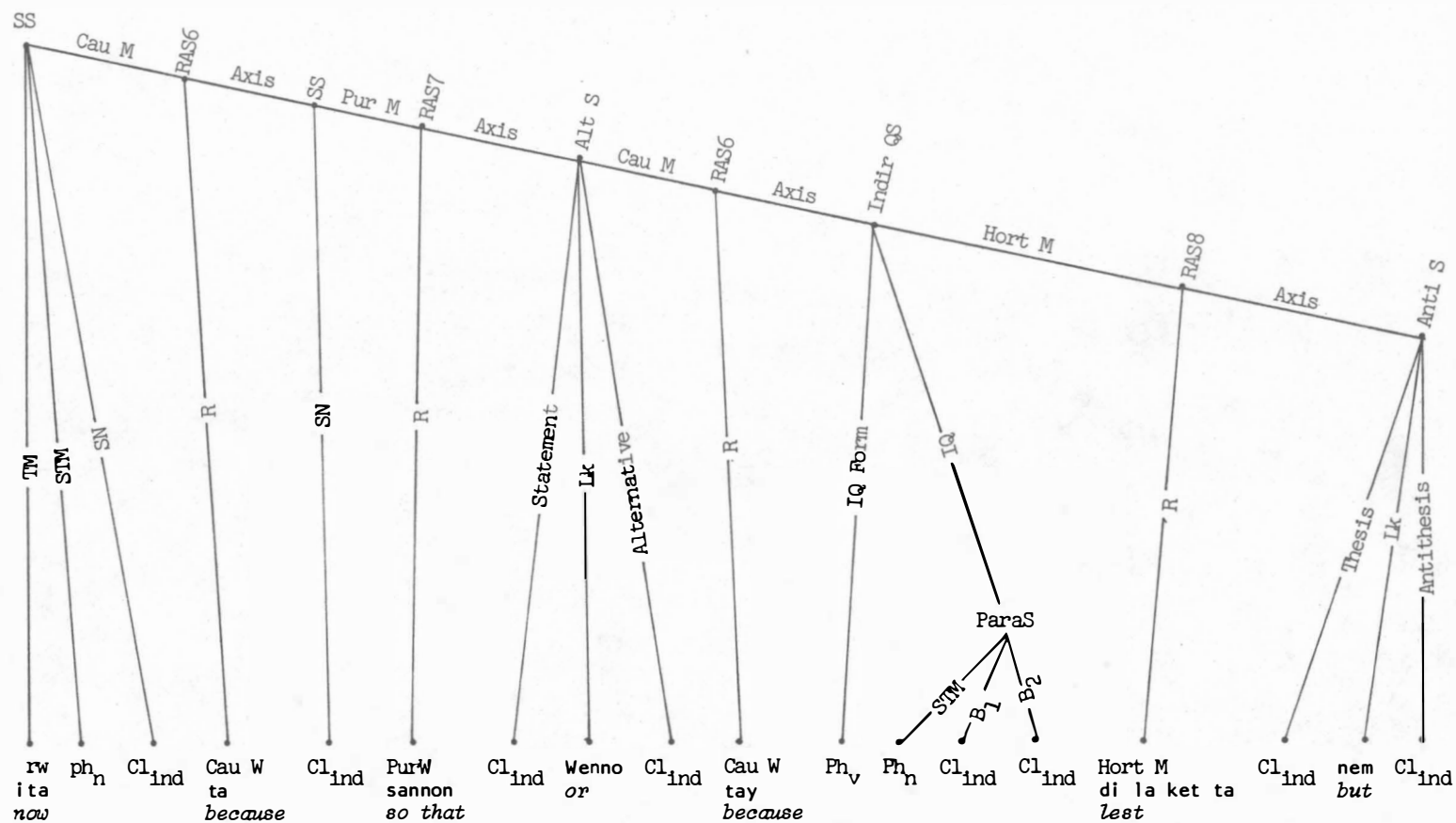
Encoding awareness, aP A Q:

Adi met natimod NO siano ta ngalan na.
not also understood if what the name his
It was not heard loud enough to understand AS TO what
his name was.

10. SENTENCE-MARGIN EMBEDDING

Embedding of sentence type within sentence type, margin within margin, and sentence type within margin is a feature of Binongan Itneg sentences. The full extent of what can be embedded and what cannot has not been analyzed fully. The following three examples from text, along with the tree diagrams illustrate this phenomenon of embedding.

Ita, dikayo wa anak ko, adi kay yan pomanpanaw ta
now you which children mine not you yet leave because
 naagen yo met a sita gingaek dikayo sannon barang no ipasnek
hear you yet uh the word/I to/you so/that good if diligent
 yo wenno ibati yo kadat otek yo tay ammo yo
you or place you to/those brains your because know you
 dikami ya naganak adi kam magiliyan, matay kami
to/us/exc which birthed not we/exc remain die we/exc
 di la ket ta omon-ona kami ya matay nem dikayo.
lest first we/exc the die rather/than to/you/all
Now you, my children, don't you leave yet, because you heed
also what I say to you, so that for your good, if you be diligent
or you place in your minds, because you know that we, your
parents, we won't always be here, we'll die, lest we be the
first to die rather than you.



"Omali kayon ta intay kanta bobay yon ta
come you because go/we to/the house your because
 kaykayapowen tay sita begas yo sannon malabon kayo ta
ceremony we the rice your so/that increase your so
 mag-oma da nilaosaka adiyaka pinapalmanan kan moting
regret they passed/I not/I tasted the cracked/rice
 da," kon na kano.
their said he rep
 "You come, because we will go to your house, because we will
 have a rice ceremony for your rice, so that it will bring
 increase to you, so that those whom I passed may regret that
 I didn't taste their cracked rice," he said.

"Ay, inten yo sid banga yo wa ogattit ta ikowa
 oh get you the pot yours which small because put
 tay sit begasa dinagop kowe ken sit begas nit
 we/inc the rice/that collected I and the rice the
 kowa yo ta siya sit lablabon yo san nalabon
 belonging your because that the increase your so/that increase
 sit pagey yo san nalabon met sit begas yo,"
 the unpounded/rice your so/that increase also the rice your
 kon kan ni Kaykayapo.
 said rep p Kaykayapo

"Oh, get a small pot because we will put the rice that I
 collected and your rice in it, because that will be your
 increase, in order that your unpounded rice may increase,
 in order that your pounded rice may increase," said God.

NOTES

1. Binongan Itneg is a dialect spoken by about 5,000 people living in the principality of Baay-Licuan, Abra Province, Luzon, Philippines. Tinggian is perhaps a more commonly used name than Itneg for the language as a whole. Thomas and Healey classify Itneg or Tinggian as a member of the Northern Philippine Language Family of Malayo-Polynesian Languages. Binongan Itneg has close grammatical and lexical similarities to both Kalinga and Ilokano.

The data upon which this description is based were collected from 1963 to 1968 while resident in barrio Nalbuan, Baay, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Research for this paper was facilitated by a concordance of Binongan Itneg text made in 1966 on the IBM 1410 computer at the University of Oklahoma by the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, and partially sponsored by grant GS-270 of the National Science Foundation.

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2. There are a few limitations in the peripheries. For instance, although an outer periphery may be preposed to a Supposition Sentence,

an inner periphery may only be postponed to it.

3. Tagmemic Apparatus footnote plus rules.

There are four tiers to the bidimensional arrays in this paper. Outer Periphery and Inner Periphery charts are quasi tagmemic apparati but each independent sentence type except Simple Sentence has a tagmemic apparatus which appears immediately following the Sentence title. The first line identifies the tagmemes of the particular sentence. The second section lists the exponents or fillers of each tagmeme. Following the exponents is the deep structure encoded in the particular sentence. Each tagmemic apparatus states rules. The tagmemic formula is limited by reading restrictions, co-occurrence of grammatical features, and transformation potential. These limitations are stated in the form of rules below the deep structure details. These types of rules will not be identified each time but are coded as follows:

- (1) reading rules
- (2) co-occurrence rules
- (3) permutibility
- (4) deletion
- (5) transformation (Jacobs and Longacre 1967:325).

4. The phonemes of Itneg are: a, l, o, e, b, d, g, k, l, m, n, p, s, t, w, y, glottal stop. Glottal stop is symbolized as - and is only written following consonant, preceding vowel. The syllable patterns of Itneg are CV, and CVC. Where two vowels are written together a glottal stop occurs syllable initial before the second vowel.

5. Nga is a versatile morpheme which, among other things, indicates subordination and attributive linkage. Following a word ending in high vowel or semi-vowel, the ng of nga is replaced by w or y respectively. In deliberate speech the canonical form nga is usually retained.

Following a word ending in a consonant the allomorph -a occurs in close juncture with the preceding word.

6. Pages 114-117 of Ballard *et al.* 1971a and pages 52-54 Ballard *et al.* 1971b define the symbols used to formulate the deep structure encoding for Inibaloi. This list of definitions was the model followed for the formulas of deep structure encoding for Binongan Itneg.

7. Two deep structures not included in Ballard *et al.* 1971a and 1971b involve comparison. The one signifying similarity has been symbolized

1P (1 for *like*), and the other signifying qualitative judgement (preference) has been symbolized vP (v for *very*).

8. There is no symbolization for optative in Ballard *et al.* 1971a:116 and 1971b:53-54. For this, the prefix i (intent wish) has been introduced in the present paper in the frustrated optative formula:

$(Q_p) \wedge iP \wedge Q.$

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